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Protest, U.S. media, and public memory : the dismantling of the Berlin Wall

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PROTEST, U.S. MEDIA, AND PUBLIC MEMORY: THE DISMANTLING OF THE BERLIN WALL

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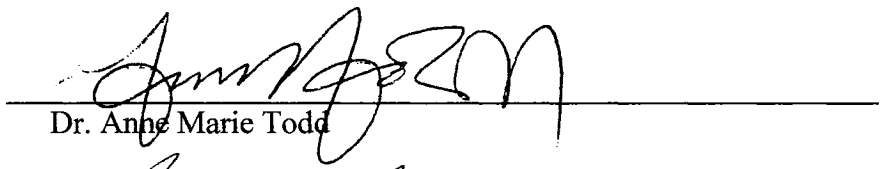

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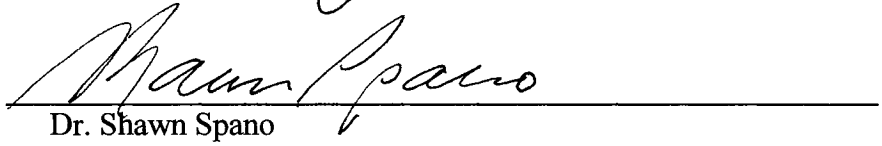

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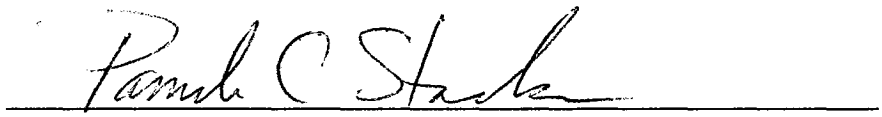

ABSTRACT

PROTEST, U.S. MEDIA, AND PUBLIC MEMORY: THE DISMANTLING OF THE BERLIN WALL

By Rebecca June Busa

This thesis addresses U.S. media coverage of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and its after-effects. The inquiry also explores how coverage of this event changed over the following year. The purpose of this study was to take a deeper look at themes portrayed through the media to the rest of the world during these initial months of the reunification process. This research utilized a method of interpretive textual analysis, studying one year of coverage from three U.S. print media sources from November 1989 through November 1990. These sources included *The New York Times, Time* magazine, and *Newsweek.*

Analysis of these texts shows that there were three clear trends in U.S. media coverage during this time. Coverage focused on social protest, political, and economic issues. This work contributes to the communication studies field by showing the connection between previous research on social protest, media coverage, and public memory.

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I would like to thank my friends and family for their support and encouragement to pursue my educational goals over the years. My parents, grandparents, and sisters deserve special recognition for their tender pushes to keep me going. Without them I would not have made it this far. I would like to thank my fiancé Chris for his reassurance, support, patience, and help with technical issues during my time writing this research. Finally, I would like to recognize the faith that has brought me this far in life and has seen me through every up and down along the way.

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If you visit Berlin, Germany, today, you will see a city bursting with life. There are museums and restaurants and shops everywhere. There are parks and churches and schools. But this is no ordinary city. History screams from the tagged walls of the Eastern side of town. There are remnants of World War II everywhere. The most obvious sign of struggle, however, remains the scar of the Berlin Wall. If you visit Berlin today, you will see it there. Although broken years ago, part of it is left to tower and educate, and haunt. The Wall that stands now is a testament to a time most Berliners would like to forget. The pieces that remain are protected by the country, they stand as a memorial to the Berliners who died trying to cross the barrier, and they stand as a reminder to everyone of the atrocity that divided friends and families for 28 years. If you journey to see the remaining sections of the Wall, you will find it decorated with words and pictures, poems, and profanities. When I visited Berlin and sought out "the Wall," the most significant part of my experience was reading the word "madness" spray painted on the Western side. Madness embraces everything that Berliners faced regarding the Wall.

The story of the Wall is one worth revisiting. Still recovering from the chaos of WWII, Germany found itself literally split between the Western Allies and the Communists, as the Eastern part of Germany was given over to the Soviet rule. Because Berlin, the capital, was located in Eastern Germany, the city had to be split to give half to each new side. Western troops were then stationed in West Berlin to help protect against invasion from the Communists who literally surrounded West Berliners from all sides.

When the city was split in two, the Soviets faced the problem of large numbers of East Germans fleeing to the westernized half of Berlin. To help curb the exodus of their people, the Soviet leaders decided that a border would need to be made to keep East Berliners in East Germany. Once the Berlin Wall went up it was an immediate physical threat. Thousands of citizens were blocked from their families, friends, and jobs. Those in West Berlin were "championed" by the U.S. and other Western allies, while those in the East were subject to the stringent and forceful Soviet rule.

The Wall divided East and West Berlin for 28 years. The media was in coverage frenzy at the creation of the blockade in the early 60s. East Germans were pulled away from the glitz and appeal of Western influence and were pointed instead to the collectivism and communal gain of socialism. The Communists of East Berlin had to contend with constant cultural pressure coming from West Berlin and the Western Allies. Such pressures came in all shapes and forms, and even as the Wall was completed, the threat of capitalism and related ideas still found their way over the large concrete barrier. Once the Wall was destroyed, the differences became shockingly clear between the lifestyles of West Berliners versus those in the East.

Before considering the effects of the reunification process, it is important to consider the history of the Berlin Wall. Caught in the middle of the struggle between communism and capitalism, Berlin and its citizens were literally severed in an attempt to appease both sides. West and East Berliners suffered the greatest casualties in this situation. Work on the Wall began in 1961. Towards the end of this year, all of the crossing points between East and West Berlin were closed to citizens, including the

Brandenburg Gate which had stood as a major entrance into the city and a fundamental image of Berlin for centuries. In his 2004 article, Moran describes how this affected Berliners:

> When the wall was built...its arbitrariness meant that it cut through the heart of the quotidian life of the city, most notably for the tens of thousands of Grenzganger (border-crossers), who lived in the East but worked in the West, and who suddenly could not go to their jobs. (p. 217)

Once the U.S. and the rest of the world had time to respond to the creation of the Wall, it became clear that military presence was necessary. The new layout left West Berliners completely surrounded by the Communists and the threat of invasion was highly probable.

Western Allies sent troops to help protect West Berliners from this threat. The crossing points remained closed until 1963 when the Soviets began to let West Berliners visit but only under heavy observation and with restrictions. While the Soviets put stress on Western Allies to leave Berlin altogether, the American, British and French troops stayed. This became a fragile and yet volatile time not only for military troops but more importantly for the citizens trapped in the Berlin situation. Even as the U.S. attempted to negotiate with the Soviets, communication was minor and inhibited by conflicting intentions. For West Berliners wishing to visit family and friends trapped on the Eastern side, visiting did not really become easier until 1971 when the western allies began to make political headway against the Soviets.

In 1987 President Reagan visited Berlin and gave his famous speech at the Brandenburg Gate, urging the Soviets to destroy the Wall. Restrictions continued to ease, and in 1989 neighboring Hungary became the first to defy the Soviet iron curtain as it

opened its border to East Germans. This resulted in thousands of East Berliners fleeing to Hungary and neighboring countries as well. Large numbers of East Germans fought to escape the communist reality. Those who chose to stay stepped up their vocalization of discontent by organizing mass protests and marches, mostly in East Berlin and Leipzig. These protests became a way for the East German people to unite and let their leaders know how unhappy they were with the lifestyle being forced on them for so long. There was significant political response to the protests as numerous East German leaders resigned from their positions leading to a new East German Leader, Egon Krenz. He responded to the cries of his protesting people by easing travel restrictions. This meant that East Germans were finally free to travel when and where they wanted. The Wall was finally opened on November 9th, 1989, as crossing point guards on the Eastern side were overcome and Berliners on both sides were reunited after 28 years. Once again, daily routines were disrupted as the blockade came down and East faced the opportunity to reunite with West. East Berliners realized that their experience indeed had been drastically different from the everyday experience of West Berliners during the Cold War. Even as the physical blockade disintegrated, it would take hard work, time, and a great deal of adaptation to reunite the two sides of the city.

U.S. troops were an important part of the history of the Berlin Wall. When the Wall fell in 1989, U.S. troops were there to help ease the situation as much as possible for all Berliners. Not only did Americans have a huge interest in the event at the time, but I believe the reunification of Berlin is still important to Americans for other reasons as well. As a world leader, the U.S. continues to be involved with conflicts all over the

globe. The help that American troops gave in Berlin by being present during the years the Wall stood, and by participating in its dismantling, will stand as an example by which current and future conflicts will also be measured against. It is inevitable that another situation like Berlin will occur somewhere else in the world at some point in time. There are even walls and barriers in place in Israel at this very moment, separating citizens, families, and friends from each other. These are lives that are caught in the middle of serious political conflict and the U.S. is involved with this situation as well. In our own country, concerns regarding the existing and future plans for the border between Mexico and the U.S. are also important to consider. Since history often repeats itself, it is important to be able to reflect on previous situations in order to plan a resolution for current conflicts.

I believe that the situation in Berlin during the late 1980s warrants further research from a communication perspective for multiple reasons. Scholars in our field have been interested for decades in situations regarding social movements and media coverage, and investigating places of public memory. The dismantling of the Wall offers the opportunity to analyze these three interests as they intersected and affected each other during the initial year of reunification. As part of my analysis I seek to answer the following research questions: How did the U.S. media depict the initial dismantling of the Wall and its after-effects, and how did that depiction change over the following year?

In many ways, media coverage of Berlin was the only glimpse the rest of the world received. I believe my research contributes to the field of communication studies by expanding on public memory and sign systems, as well as media coverage studies

especially pertaining to coverage during intense times of political and social change. While the field of communication has given attention to other instances of social protest, media coverage issues, and public memory, research on Berlin is lacking in all three aspects. The Wall was more than a physical divider; it was an event that changed history and the people involved. For these reasons I bring together multiple interests within our field to study the Berlin Wall on a deeper level. I hope that my interest in this subject on a scholarly level will help open the door for further communications work surrounding the reunification process in Berlin. This subject is of personal interest to me as well.

As part of my quest to visit foreign countries of my ethical heritage, I first became personally interested in Berlin in my early 20s. I traveled to Berlin in the spring of 2004. My expectations for this visit were low. I thought Berlin would turn out to be another tourist-driven city. As is typical of many large cities throughout Europe, I pictured rows and rows of chain stores and American fast food restaurants. This turned out to be true of the centralized city; however Berlin as a whole has a much more interesting story to tell.

My perceptions of Berlin changed before I even got off at the Hauptbahnhof. The three young Berliners that I met on the train from Amsterdam greatly impacted my life. These young people were actually involved and deeply affected by the Berlin Wall and the U.S. involvement in bringing it down. The young woman told me the story of her mother and aunt. When the Wall was constructed in 1961, her mother lived in West Berlin, while the sister became trapped on the Eastern side. Her mother made many attempts to go visit her sister, but the Soviet restrictions were tough, and their need to keep Western propaganda out, meant that many visitors were kept out. She told me of

the overwhelming joy the family felt upon being reunited in 1989. She remembered U.S. troops being there to help protect Berliners as those from the Eastern side flooded through the broken checkpoints and over to the Western side. That day, I began to feel personally connected to the situation in Berlin. For me, it became a matter of learning as much about the process as possible so that I could try to understand what Berliners on both sides must have gone through, and what the Wall meant to both sides. I also wanted to understand more about how the U.S. was involved and how the media portrayed the situation to Americans at home. This inquiry led to the following thesis. At this point, let me provide an outline of the chapters to follow.

Literature Review

In the next chapter, I present a review of current scholarship regarding social protest, media coverage, and public memory within the communication studies lens. Major themes and trends within these three areas are explored in each of the specified subcategories as well. I have chosen to focus on three aspects of communication literature to develop a theoretical foundation for my own research. The existing literature fails to adequately address scholarship in all three areas in regards to the Berlin Wall. Social protests and movements have been studied in other countries and eras but communication scholarship has failed to address the role of the Wall in post-1989 protests and reform efforts. Likewise, scholarship on media coverage of social movements has also been done in our field but insufficient attention has been paid to media coverage of the dismantling of the Wall. Finally, public memory work has focused on different conflict sites but not on Berlin specifically. This literature preview serves as

an example of the current conversations in social protest, media coverage, and public memory. As part of my extended literature review I argue that the lack of research in all three areas with regards to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall necessitates further, collaborative work on these subjects.

Method

To aid my research I utilized a method of interpretive textual analyses in chapter three. Interpretive textual analysis is a method of digging deeper into a text in order to find more complex meaning as opposed to surface level value. Textual analysis has been used in both qualitative and quantitative research. The basic idea of textual analysis is to look for patterns or signs to emerge from the artifact in study. Quantitative textual analysis looks for literal patterns, such as how many times a word appears in the text. Qualitative analysis is not as literal; it involves looking for similar ideas and word use that lend to patterns such as a certain emotion present in multiple texts. In my research I used a qualitative approach as I analyzed different U.S. media sources and their coverage of the post-1989 Berlin Wall.

I studied U.S. print media coverage to research how the U.S. media depicted the initial dismantling of the Wall and its after-effects, and how that depiction changed over the following year. My media analysis focused on several U.S. print sources from 1989 to 1990. These included *Time, Newsweek*, and *The New York Times*. These three represented diverse and leading print news sources during my specified timeframe. Through this method I was able to reveal patterns that shed useful light on the three aspects of my research, social protest, media coverage and public memory. My method

consisted of an interpretive analysis of news articles in these primary media sources. My goal is to present evidence through my textual analysis of media coverage during the late 1980s and early '90s and contribute further work on Berlin to the field of communication studies.

Analysis

In chapter four I provide the analysis of my results. This section discusses the major themes and patterns that I found in the three U.S. print media sources as I employed the interpretive analysis process. Each major theme is discussed as well as specific examples given to illustrate and provide evidence. This chapter also provides a discussion of relationships between themes and patterns as well as clusters within dominant patterns that emerged. My research questions are considered again and I provide evidence for the answers that my analysis revealed. The presentation of my results and the significance of these results is the core of chapter four.

Conclusion

The final chapter reviews the entire thesis project. In this section, I reflect on the investigation process and defend my scholarly inquiry. I also discuss the implications of my work in regards to the field of communication studies. Limitations that affected my study are discussed as well as recommendations for future research. My goal is to spark further interest in the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the reunification process faced by Berliners. I realize that the field of communications studies has devoted years of scholarly efforts to similar situations. However it is my belief that further examination of Berlin from the communication perspective is warranted. Of course, before I unfold my

own research quest, it is important to investigate some of the related research that has already been done.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This review will focus on three aspects of communication literature to develop a theoretical foundation for my own research to follow. These aspects are social protest, media coverage studies, and public memory. The existing literature fails to adequately address scholarship in all three areas in regards to the Wall. Social protests and movements have been studied in other countries and eras but communication scholarship has failed to address the role of the Wall in post-1989 protests and reform efforts. Likewise, scholarship on media coverage of social movements has also been done in our field but insufficient attention has been paid to media coverage of the dismantling of the Wall. Finally, public memory work has focused on different conflict sites but not on Berlin specifically. The focus will be on these three areas because of the connective thread that joins the three together.

Previous research on social protests has helped to show how this type of action creates meaning. Media coverage helps to relay this constructed meaning to the rest of the world by helping to vocalize the struggle and the desire for change on a larger level. In turn, this media coverage helps to construct history and thus affects public memory. In my examination of current literature in each of these subjects, there emerged important trends and these are discussed in detail below. While research did not surface any work that dealt specifically with my interests regarding the Berlin Wall and the reunification process, there were important scholars whose work has contributed greatly to my own research.

Social Protest

Current literature on social protest explores relationships between causes of protest, coverage of protest, and how social movements can influence government. Some of the current scholarship has focused on the relationship between social protest and diplomacy (Wenger & Suri, 2001) such as the women's suffrage movement and the civil rights movement. These two social movements changed our country drastically by expanding rights and privileges to women and minorities traditionally left out in the past. Others have tried to define important aspects of social action: "Protest potential, or the willingness to engage in 'direct action' protests ranging from legal demonstrations and marches to civil disobedience and violence" (Wallace & Jenkins, 1996, p. 184). Interest in analyzing social protest has come from a variety of disciplines, including history, sociology, and communication studies including many of its subfields: intercultural communications, feminist studies, and more. Two main themes of interest surfaced in the review of the literature. The first focuses on who the actual protestors are: what their background is and what has led them to protest. The second theme centers on the "why" aspect: why these people are protesting and what their goals and desired outcomes are.

Who Are the Protesters? There are two aspects to this theme. The first relates to groups. Examples of this can be found in countries that mistreat their citizens for a variety of reasons. Some countries do not offer many liberties, if any and this stringent control in time will wear down the people of the society and drive them to organize together to try and change things (Ekiert & Kubik, 1998). Other literature focuses on the individuals within the groups. Wenger and Suri (2001) have shown that certain members

of a society are more prone to be involved in social protest than others. I found several examples of research that examined who these people are, and why they are more motivated than others to seek protest as their tool for change. Motivations can vary between the group and individual level so it is important to consider the leading issues for both (Jenkins & Wallace, 1996).

Some countries seem more prone to social protest than others, and usually this will depend on the government structure and how the citizens are treated. If there has been recent political change this can have a huge bearing on how people react. Ekiert & Kubik (1998) studied protest in Central Europe. They examined the deteriorating conditions that led to greater levels of uncertainty and unhappiness for the society involved. They found that the fall of the Soviets initially affected many European countries in a negative way: "All countries of Central Europe are in the throes of difficult economic adjustments and structural changes that have engendered major dislocations and exacted considerable social costs" (Ekiert & Kubik, 1998, p. 548). Other scholars have focused on this situation as well. During the Cold war many groups grew unhappy with the way they were being treated by their government: "The sufferings of Soviet citizens, according to these dissidents, grew from the regime's reliance upon violence, international conflict and nuclear weapons" (Wenger & Suri, 2001, p. 12). These people had been mistreated for many years, and so it stands to reason that eventually certain members of the group would become dissatisfied to the point that they would turn to protest to try and voice their concerns.

There are many different types of groups that one can join in a situation like this to try and promote change. Ekiert and Kubik (1998) explain that interests groups, labor unions, and other popular social groups are usually most influential in promoting change. The time period following the fall of socialism in this area led to an increased number of social protest action. Ekiert & Kubik (1998) write that it is common to see an increase in this type of activity after a major transformation in a country, especially when political power is being drastically shifted from one ideology to another.

Within a society there are certain members who may be more likely to turn to social protest as a means for change. These can include minority groups who feel they've been marginalized and want to speak up for themselves, such as women, African-Americans, and Native Americans, just to name a few. There are also other people who are more likely to engage in protest including college students, and union workers. Jenkins & Wallace (1996) examined the different types of people who may be more prone to engaging in social protest than others. They found that there are a few stages in life that contribute to stronger urges towards social change including generational changes and other stages in the life-cycle that can contribute towards the desire for this type of action (Jenkins & Wallace, 1996). Their work focused on times in a person's life that may result in greater tendency to protest, as opposed to general groups who may use social movement for change. Other work has focused instead on members of society more likely to be attracted to social protest. Wenger & Suri (2001) explain that university students, and other youth in the Soviet society were more likely to turn to protest because of the broader education they had been exposed to. As they learned more

about other forms of government they became less satisfied with their own and desired change quickly. Jenkins and Wallace (1996) were also interested in this subject and they conducted tests of their own. Their results showed: "Among the social trend factors, greater education and youthfulness contribute to greater potential for general, legal protests, and civil disobedience, while only youthfulness is related to violent events" (p. 196). So far research has suggested that the more educated we become, the more open we may be to joining a social movement, or supporting a protest ideology. Besides well educated youth, however, there are numerous other types of groups who are also more likely to engage in social protest.

Religion is another major social factor that can lead to social protest because of conflicting values with other religious groups. "Supporting the idea of a 'cultural war' between religious traditionalists and secularists, greater secularism contributes to greater potential for the general and civil disobedience scales" (Jenkins & Wallace, 1996, p. 196). Some research has suggested that by merely being part of a religious group, members are more likely to be involved in a social movement in support of that religion: "Participation in religious activities can also increase an individual's exposure to social movement activists and recruiters" (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001, p. 1433). These researchers also argue that the traditions and beliefs of religions can be major factors in the encouragement of its members to become more socially involved (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001). It is important to remember that social protests helps to create meaning, and religious groups have specialized sets of values so the created meaning they will strive for can differ greatly from the meaning constructed by other types of protest. Some

religions are founded on the idea that everyone should follow their belief system or else pay a heavy moral debt at some later point. In their study, McVeigh and Sikkink focused mainly on the American Protestant church and its values. One of the fundamental beliefs of the Protestant church is that believing in Jesus is the only way to salvation and that Christians should try and convert everyone possible into following this path towards eternity in Heaven. From this perspective, there is a distinct good and evil conflict and the majority of the world is living in evil: "The schema of God vs. world becomes for the moral absolutist a frame for contentious action" (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001, p. 1432). This perspective gives them the justification they need to engage in social action in order to raise awareness toward their belief system and persuade people to join their cause.

What Are the Main Objectives of Protest? Once the dynamics of the individuals and groups involved in a protest are established, it is important to analyze why the social action is taking place, and what the main goals are of that specific movement. It is also important to consider the individual types of social action that are being used, whether it is marches, or demonstrations, or protests of some other sort. McGee (1980) writes about the importance of these different types of action: "Each choice represents an attitudinal/stylistic alternative with the power to express an individuated ordering of social reality." McGee goes on to state, "Each term, in other words, is a *meaning*, a conclusion one comes to about the phenomenon being witnessed" (p. 127). As mentioned above, when it comes to religious groups the main objective is usually to spread their belief system to as many people as possible to try and recruit outsiders to join their cause: "When God is represented as in radical conflict with humanity and human

history, we expect that contentious tactics in the public square will be seen as a legitimate expression of carrying out God's work in the world" (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001, p. 1432). The goal in this example is to act according to God's will and try to make as much of an earthly difference as possible. McVeigh and Sikkink conducted extensive tests to try and determine Protestants motivations and goals. They concluded:

> In our representative sample of churchgoing Protestants, the vast majority of respondents (81.6%) said that they believed that Christians should be trying to change American society to better reflect God's will. Of these respondents, nearly one third (31.6%) agreed that to do this it was at times necessary to employ tactics that generate conflict. (2001, p. 1447)

In this case, the movement could take place in many different countries because the driving force was of religious base, not an issue of political injustice.

The majority of social protests, however, do relate back to a feeling of economic, or other social inequity. Current scholarly work has explored this overarching issue as well: "Many movements seek support for their claims that the political and/or economic system is the source of some problem and that without reforms of the system the problem will persist" (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001, p. 1404). In these cases the people involved in the protest will most likely consist of average citizens who are fed up with the way their country is being run. Meyer & Minkoff (2004) examined this as well and they found that these types of social protests are in fact led predominantly by rational, mainstream organizers seeking political change. They go on to explain that social action in these cases has clear goals and they are operationalized in a precise manner: "Activists and political officials make decisions about when to capitalize on political change and when to be cautious- and such decisions are themselves likely to

depend on the form of the action to be taken" (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004, p. 1484). Additional literature has considered how social protest has been used to try and challenge national politics in terms of local identity (Wuerth, 1999). Local identity can affect many aspects of the community and when the government is not reflecting the best interests of the people, action of some sort is necessary. In some cases the local group can find a way to initiate change through actions on their own. In other cases however, outside help of some sort is necessary to acquire the level of change needed to aid the local group involved. Sometimes the action potential is initiated by someone outside of the group desiring change.

Leaders of other countries have been involved in starting conversations on behalf of a group who are being mistreated by their own leaders. During the 1980s President Reagan spoke many times of defending the East Germans trapped within the boundaries of the Berlin Wall. In one of his most famous speeches, Reagan addressed this issue and the main goals of the social action he was initiating. Rowland and Jones (2006) studied Reagan's involvement at the Brandenburg Gate preceding the deconstruction of the Berlin Wall: "The dominant theme in the first half of the Brandenburg Gate speech was that the battle between the West and the Soviet Union fundamentally was about freedom versus denial of freedom" (p. 33). Through his speech, Reagan was helping to give voice to the group of people who had been under the Soviet rule for more than 20 years. In regards to the speech, Rowland and Jones go on to explain, "And still more fundamentally, Reagan was saying that ultimate victory over the Soviets and other totalitarians was inevitable because totalitarian systems deny the fundamental nature of

what it means to be human" (2006, p. 35). The Germans in East Berlin had been bogged down by communist rule for far too long and the outside world searched for ways to diplomatically help them. President Reagan's speech was successful in uniting East Germans and encouraging them to rally against their oppressors. Their goal was to escape the Soviet rule and embrace democracy instead. Rowland & Jones (2006) write that Reagan's speech was successful because East Germans responded to his words and began to retaliate against the Soviets, demanding the Wall be taken down.

Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate helped to alert more than just the local people to the situation in East Berlin. He initiated social protests around the world in support of these oppressed Germans and this was due in large part to media coverage of the event. Media coverage is usually an important indicator of a social movement's success: "Social movement organizations seek to draw attention to the problems and issues they deem important by organizing public demonstrations often with the aim of attracting mass media coverage" (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1397). On some level, one goal of any social movement is always to gain recognition from the outside world so that other people can join their cause and help produce change on a larger level.

Politically marginalized people often do not have access to political leaders able to make the necessary changes, so they send their message through the media to alert these people to their cause instead (Smith et al., 2001). These researchers found two problems however that can arise when a social movement is dependent upon the media for coverage. These two possible dilemmas are Selection Bias and Description Bias (Smith, et al., 2001). Selection bias basically means that the media may not share the

same objectives as the social movement. Thus, the media may or may not choose to cover the protest events due to what their specific motives are at the time. The second problem, Description Bias, is only an issue if the movement is actually being covered by the media. This problem relates to how the social protest is represented in the media. As with Selection bias, the media have their own interests to keep in mind so they may portray the social movement in an inaccurate way to stay consistent to their own agenda: "Since social movement organizations are by definition 'outsiders' to political institutions and processes, they can be further marginalized when mainstream media fail to cover their protests or the issues they seek to raise" (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1400). Much of this impact is due to media coverage of the protest and media influence on the audience's perception of the social movement. Andrews (1980) contributes to the impact of media coverage on social protests: "The exciting, and frustrating, characteristic of a movement is that it *moves*, and what makes it move, in large measure, is the way language is manipulated to control or interpret events" (p. 158). Social movements must therefore be aware of the profound affect media can have on people, but also that the position of media will usually be loyal first to their own motivations.

Overall, the media can be beneficial to helping give voice to social protests and demonstrations around the world. One semi-recent example of the power media has to portray social protests was the WTO protests in Seattle. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) studied how this relationship connects to the idea of a public screen: "The public screen. Such a concept takes technology seriously. It recognizes that most, and the most important, public discussions take place via 'screens'-television, computer, and the front

page of newspapers" (p. 131). Part of the power behind social protests is their ability to create meaning. Social protests are a physical way to help raise awareness of a cause in order to promote change. This method is powerful because it can help attract more attention than other types of action. The media in particular are more likely to cover a protest, or a march or other type of social demonstration, than they are to cover a meeting or more low-key approach to creating awareness. Part of this can be explained by the media's tendency to seek out drama and report more disruptive, violent or explosive stories over others. These are the types of stories that will lead coverage and these are also the types of events that the public is most interested in paying attention to. This is one reason why social protests can be so influential. Through their action they initiate change and that is picked up by people who witness the protests and by the media that cover and help create the meaning of the action. As social protests help to create meaning, that meaning is portrayed to the rest of the world through media coverage.

Media Coverage

Literature on media coverage spans many disciplines including communication, mass communication, and sociology. Media are an important aspect of all societies, and as we grow technologically, so does our media system, offering more opportunities for exposure and influence. As previously discussed, the media can be helpful to raising awareness of social action and struggles by addressing the issues to a national or global audience. Some research has focused on how the media has changed over time. Other scholars have considered the ways in which media coverage affects its audience and what groups media focuses on within society. In my review of related literature on the subject

of media, I found two major themes regarding coverage. The first theme deals with the effect of media on people, not only how they access media, but also how media consumption influences their perspective of reality. The second theme involves the relationship between media and politics. Sometimes these two groups function together, but in other cases media presents us with a side of reality that contradicts what political figures would have us believe.

Media Effects on People. The media are an important part of a society's culture. In the U.S., we value the freedom of speech, to express ourselves as we see fit and to whom we see fit. We also value our freedom of choice, the opportunity to seek knowledge when and how we desire. Media are a tool used for both of these purposes. Through the media, we can express our beliefs, and we can also seek knowledge of current events that we'd like to know more about. However, it is important to recognize that like many other aspects of society, the media acts on their own motivations. Sometimes the motivation is of good intention; the source merely seeks to educate the public. Other times the media are acting on specific intention to frame the story in a way that will persuade the audience to their advantage.

When persuasion is the goal, it is important to consider why we are being persuaded, and what we are being persuaded to believe. Huyssen (2000) examines media effects and warns that public memory is not delivered by the media with innocent intention. Rather, the messages are intentionally shaped to relay specific meaning. Larsen's (1966) research reflects similar ideas, "Paradoxically, controversy over mass communication emerges from a point of consensus bearing on the potential impact of the

media: more and more people are spending more and more time in exposure to media content; this is incontrovertible" (Larsen, 1966, p. 44). As people turn more frequently to various news sources the opportunity increases to be persuaded into believing a controlled message. Larsen (1966) continues: "Furthermore, in the history of each medium of mass communication, there is little evidence to support the logic that if the controversy over effects could be resolved, the problem over control might readily be resolved" (Larsen, 1966, p. 43). We know that people are affected by what they are exposed to. People rely on the media to convey important stories of how current events might affect their lives. Part of the concern however is that media are inevitably biased to some extent, so the stories that are being relayed are usually just one version of the truth. The effects on the audience however can be detrimental if every person believes what they see and read through the media to be the entire story.

Some research on media has focused on the positive effects on people. Robinson (2000) explored the policy and media interaction model in his work. He focused on media involvement in crisis situations, the ways in which the media tended to side with the struggling society when government policy was weak. This work is important because it reminds us that sometimes the media really do have our best interest in mind, and will fight to ensure we are represented. There are numerous current examples of how the media have helped to open our eyes to groups who are under championed by their governments and need help. How our own government chooses to respond to these situations is the subject for other research, but it is important to recognize that in some ways media do serve a positive function. Once the information is spread to a wider

audience more people are able to learn about the situation and help take action for those in need. In this way, the media can help alert us to problems that we can be proactive in solving when our government doesn't seem to take the initiative first.

The media can also help connect us with other groups by relaying similarities between current situations. This effect is positive because it can help unite people and help them to identify with each other: "By compiling people's experiences and presenting them with abstract, aggregate form, mass media aid people in interpreting individual experiences as parts of broader social trends" (Mutz, 1994, p. 691). These social trends can then be analyzed and addressed on a more widespread level. Goidel & Langley (1995) researched how the media can help bring people together and make them aware of important conditions that could have an affect on their lives if not addressed quickly, such as global warming and other hazards that could confront numerous societies and cultures: "News coverage of the economy does reflect, even if not perfectly, real economic conditions. However, it also reflects the important role that the media play in alerting the public to signs of economic distress" (pp. 321-322). When people are able to take charge of potentially negative situations because of the information they've received from the media, this can be considered a positive effect. This points to the power of the media. Goidel & Langley go on to remind us however of the potential effect that such power can have on media's audience: "The tone of media coverage actually affects public evaluations" (1995, p. 325). Research in this area of media effects points out that it is important to be cautious when considering the impact of media on society. There is plenty of evidence of the media trying to sway people to believe one way on an issue.

When this motivation crosses with political goals, the effect can be negative long-term if the public have been persuaded to believe in a politician with bad intentions.

On the other hand, the media can help bring awareness to public issues that involve politics. The media can help shed light on a politician's motives, history and discrepancies: "By devoting large amounts of coverage to the election, the media can contribute to raising the salience of politics on a larger social agenda" (Weaver, 1996, p. 39). This research ties back to the idea that media can help connect our awareness to larger issues that could have a later affect worldwide. Weaver (1996) goes on to write:

> Voter learning can be considered one type of media effect, and media effects have been a concern of many scholars, citizens, and politicians for most of this century, especially since the use of propaganda in World War One and the rise of huge advertising companies to help sell nearly everything, including political candidates. (p. 35)

The concern of propaganda and politicians being influenced by deep pockets brings me to the second major trend in media related research.

Media and Politics. Fortunately, in the U.S. we have extensive access to perspectives voiced through media outlets. With the wealth of media sources also comes the possibility of several being heavily skewed to one political spectrum, or the other. However, with so many media options to choose from, it is easy to find a source that aligns itself to ideals similar to your own, and a wide number of media are careful to separate themselves from political party affiliation all together. In some countries however, the majority of media are controlled by certain powerful politicians:

> Just as poorly educated and demobilized voters have few alternatives to television as a source of political information; voters in a country where all coverage is biased toward a particular candidate have few alternatives in terms of different television stations or news programs. (Boas, 2005, p. 32)

This research reminds us of the liberties that we have in the U.S. and the negative consequences that other countries face when they do not share our privileges. By controlling the media, certain governments are able to keep a tight rein on what messages are relayed, and thus they are able to control a consistent image to the public. There is research to suggest that this too can be manipulated to serve opposing interests as well. Some candidates use this control to their advantage when it comes to politicians from other groups: "Because the mass media in Latin American countries are often controlled by wealthy individuals, campaign coverage may systematically favor candidates thought to be friendlier toward market reform" (Boas, 2005, p. 32). Boas's work examines how access to media are restricted in Latin American countries, but also how eventually this control is used to the advantage of rising politicians who separate themselves by offering the hope of freedoms such as U.S. citizens receive. By distancing themselves from the dominant group, these underdog politicians use the media bias to their advantage by promising voters that they will act on their behalf to change government control to favor a more democratic approach instead.

The media can be a powerful political tool, but as aforementioned, the media base their decisions on what stories to cover, on their own motivations. In an earlier study, McQuail (1985) examined the sociology of media and mass communication over the course of several years, and the different theories that emerged to either reflect what was being portrayed in coverage, or to call upon what was not. As with issues of public memory, research in media and politics reminds us that it is imperative to analyze what images are stressed in the media, as well as what images are absent. Then we must ask

why these other aspects of the story are not being told and who might be benefiting from the opposite perspective remaining silenced. Mutz (1994) studied related issues of political attitudes that were self-serving and how these messages were delivered via the media. The media have a great amount of power when it comes to relaying information to the public, and Mutz also reminds us how this can be positive if approached correctly: "By transcending large distances, media can define problems as national in scope" (1994, p. 693). Again, this will depend on the motivation of the media involved. In its purest form, media should help to create awareness in terms of political issues. They should seek to represent an unbiased account of all sides of the story: "By weaving individual events into larger patterns, mass media are expected to aid people in contextualizing their personal concerns, and thus in connecting them to political preferences" (Mutz, 1994, p. 695). In this scenario we would have a fair perspective on what political motives were being relayed and therefore what leaders we would choose to follow.

Previous research shows that media coverage can affect the public in numerous ways, from raising awareness of social struggles, to focusing on different political issues and motivations of political leaders. One of the most powerful affects that media has on their audience is the power of persuasion, whatever the subject matter may be. Media coverage helps to shape our sense of reality and how history is constructed and remembered. Media coverage is essential to public memory in this way. Media coverage is often the only link that the rest of society has to struggles and current events as they happen. What stories the media chooses to give voice to will have a profound affect on how those stories and events are remembered by the general public. Issues of public

memory and how that memory is created, is often formed based on the media coverage given to the issue.

Public Memory

Most of the current literature on public memory investigates how past people, places and events, influence and affect the culture and society around them in a way that dictates how they are historically remembered: "Landmarks and memorials in a landscape, overt or discreet, play a powerful role in telling us about people's values, history, struggles and successes" (Steinberg & Taylor, 2003, p. 449). Public memory can be affected by many different factors. Hasian (2004) discusses the ways in which a museum affects public memory by the displays it creates and what part of history it chooses to remember and portray to its visitors. Inevitably not everything can be housed in the museum, and this selectiveness is an important thing to consider when analyzing what the public memory of the event(s) is now. In one of the first research articles dealing with public memory, Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci (1991) examine the public memory surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Their work provided the incremental step by which future research in public memory was based on. Blair and her fellow researchers explain the public memory power of monuments: "Moreover, commemorative monuments 'instruct' their visitors about what is to be valued in the future as well as in the past" (Blair et al, 1991, p. 263). Other work has focused on public debate and ways that this is used to control and change public memory. Mandziuk (2003) researches this in her work on Sojourner Truth and how memories of Truth's material image were used through debate by different groups. Some groups used religious images

of Truth to satisfy their likewise religious aspirations. Other groups used images of Truth as a political revolutionary who fought for the rights of women and minorities. These are just a few examples of the different aspects that can affect public memory of any person or situation.

During my investigation of published research on public memory, I came across two trends. First I found work that spoke to government's use of public memory to control desired images of their country. This entails reflecting on historical events in certain ways as to reflect positive views on the country's involvement and detract attention from any wrong doing related to the event(s). This will be represented through public speeches and other records of history such as books. The second trend was an extension of this idea, and involves analyzing museums and other public monuments for their influence over history as well. This differs from the first category however because these places represent physical public memory sites as opposed to recollections of one version of history in a speech or book. I found several articles that spoke to the ways that museums and monuments are created to represent specific ideas, depending on what the people involved would like to convey.

The National Image. One of the most fundamental themes of public memory is how history is manipulated to be remembered in ways to suit the image of the nation involved. This is an issue of ongoing investigation as current societies reflect on the past in order to find clarification of historical people and events: "Memory has long been the handmaiden of nationalist zeal, history its high counsel" (Olick, 1998, p. 378). The biggest problem with this skewed history is that it tends to leave out important aspects of

past times, such as cultures and people who were in conflict with the mainstream society and their way of living. History is controlled by people in power to reflect the dominant culture instead and to discourage the remembering of stories that conflict with these images. In the process, other aspects of history are overlooked and in time, forgotten. One example would be the creation of the Japanese internment camps in the U.S. during World War II, and how the atrocities committed within our own country were quickly overlooked and all but forgotten by the generation that was associated with that time in history. Olick (1998) warns that with every version of history, there are subnarratives and other aspects of control struggles that are left out of the history books. In most situations however there are multiple versions of the truth and multiple perspectives that deserve to be recognized and recorded.

In most countries the government and the legal system have the most control over what version of history is conveyed to the public. Because history directly ties into current ideas of the country as well, governments and other powerful leaders are conscious of how various interpretations will affect their current image. Whatever may have happened in the past, those currently in control have the power to decide what is remembered:

> In public memory, the present rules over the past. In every generation, those in positions of authority decide which of the names and events that preceded them are worthy of remembrance. Official history is chosen as much as it is inherited. (Markovits, 2001, p. 513)

One interesting aspect of this is how the law is used to favor certain stories and to exclude competing perspectives. Markovits (2001) examines how history is "filtered" through the law not only through public records, but through the court systems as well.

For example, in Germany after the communist government fell, certain legal papers that attested to the communist way of life were destroyed or otherwise misplaced in order to skew the version of history that would be remembered by future German generations. Political leaders can use their power, in some cases, to determine what documents are sealed, and what remains on public record. This process can be especially prohibitive to understanding past events, particularly in countries with strict government control.

Sometimes the stories that make it through to the public are reflective of the nearest version of what really happened at the time. However, in situations where this is not the case, the public is deceived into believing a false version of history. When it comes to social struggles, the story of the victorious group may not always be the most valuable to remember. "Most of the winners' accusations may be true. But if we want to understand the past we also must look for the unremembered stories" (Markovits, 2001, p. 558). Imagine if the stories of the underdog were never told. Our idea of history would be limited, and unfortunately this is the fate of many societies. Markovits goes on to examine the effects of this behavior on the development of public memory. This research speaks to the importance of relaying all aspects of struggles, and to giving voice to not only the dominant group, but all people involved.

History is not recorded only in books and legal records, but is also remembered and passed down orally through the generations. Public memory of past people and events can be found physically as well; sometimes geographical landmarks remain of victories as well as the struggles of defeat: "These histories mask or naturalize inequalities through material culture, such as memorials, museums, and the built

landscape" (Shackel, 2001, p. 655). These physical sites serve to remind us of the events where they actually happened. However, just like governments control over history books, these physical sites usually serve a purpose in controlling aspects of public memory as well.

Landscape, Museums, and Public Memory. The second trend in public memory research that I found revolves around these physical sites that stand as a testament to historical people and events. Steinberg & Taylor (2003) write, "However subtle or limited the scale and number of landmarks, examination of those that do exist in postconflict landscapes can provide important indicators of past and present political and social relationships" (p. 450). Their work focused on Guatemala and how the landscape reflected struggles of war long after the actual events occurred. For example, some towns were hit particularly hard during combat, leaving crumbled buildings and other signs of disaster long after the conflict had ended. This is an important connection to my interest in public memory of the Berlin Wall, as parts of it too remain present decades after the struggles that initially caused its creation: "The presence, placement, and prominence of these landmarks can tell the observer about who 'won' or, if there are no clear victors, about the continuing struggle for power" (Steinberg & Taylor, 2003, p. 450). These researchers go on to explain that physical sites serve as clear reminders that there is more than one version of history. In many cases, the struggle does not end quickly either, but the community and culture involved often deal with the aftermath for many years following the declaration of a winner (Steinberg & Taylor, 2003). As these sites remain a

part of the landscape, they force the local groups to confront their history on a regular basis.

Physical reminders of historical events are not always just the leftovers of war and struggle. Often, sites are intentionally constructed to serve as a place of public memory. These include museums, monuments, and memorials. Blair et al. (1991) studied the public memory surrounding the Washington D.C. Vietnam Veterans Memorial. They help to explain the power of these public sites: "Public commemorative monuments are rhetorical products of some significance. They select from history those events, individuals, places, and ideas that will be sacralized by a culture or a polity" (Blair et al., 1991, p. 263). Other work has focused on the Vietnam Veterans memorial as well. Sturken (1997) looked at numerous issues surrounding public memory and sites of remembrance. She explored the circumstances that usually surround monuments versus memorials stating: "Monuments are not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials. Where as a monument most often signifies victory, a memorial refers to the life or lives sacrificed for a particular set of values" (p. 47). However, the same issues can exist as with the representation of history in published materials. The stories may be conveyed in a way that is biased, and favorable to the dominant group. Markovits (2001) examined this subject in detail and states that these physical public memory sites serve a purpose to current leaders and their interests: "A public monument will not be built unless its builders are convinced that by honoring the past they also will honor themselves. Rarely do nations build monuments to immortalize their shame" (p. 513). This research urges scholars to revisit such places in order to find

and give voice to other parts of the story that are not represented, because it is inevitable that the site will favor one version of the truth. Perhaps there are cases where only one version of the story warrants remembrance.

If there exists such a place, surely the museum built to remember the atrocity of the Holocaust must be it. Hasian (2004) examines the importance of this museum in terms of public memory. Although the Holocaust took place in Eastern Europe, President Reagan wanted to build a museum in the U.S. to stand as a testament to the devastation caused by the Nazis. The U.S. fought to relieve the struggles inflicted on Jews and others in Europe during World War II. Hasian (2004) describes how Reagan wanted to bring these struggles to U.S. soil so that the American people could easily visit and remember the tragedies that occurred, and to stand as a reminder of who we fought for at that time. Hasian's work describes several ways that the construction of this museum was used to portray a certain perspective, thereby contributing to how the museum affects public memory. The layout of the museum was designed to convey meaning and to create specific images in the minds of visitors:

> By taking a personal tour of the museum, and illuminating some of the contentious positions that are taken by individuals involved with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), a critic can help explain some of the political and social motivations that were involved in the selection of particular Holocaust narratives and displays. (Hasian, 2004, p. 65)

This research is important because it sheds light on the motivations behind what is represented in the museum, and what is not: "The participants who are actively involved in this type of memory-work have the task of deciding just how these victims will be remembered, and who will be put in charge of prioritizing the various stories that will be

told" (Hasian, 2004, p. 66). Although this museum stands as a valuable testament to the torture inflicted on Jews and other groups, many people also feel that the existence of the museum in our country is inappropriate. Hasian (2004) argues, "...in spite of these challenges, the caretakers of the USHMM shared a purpose to universalize the lessons of the Holocaust, and so they chose the controversial strategy of trying to 'Americanize' the Judeocide" (p. 68). In doing so, the true story of the Holocaust is compromised to reflect an American perspective.

The Holocaust museum is only one of many museums created in the U.S. that have been used to skew a favorable image of American involvement in times of struggle. Controversy over an exhibit to remember one of the atom bombs dropped on Japan has also been an issue. Many people were opposed to dropping the bombs to begin with, especially since they inflicted terrible destruction on innocent people. Others felt that the action was justified and helped the U.S. against a powerful enemy: "The Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution is an excellent example of how the government suppressed an alternative view on the grounds that it was not patriotic" (Shackel, 2001, p. 657). At the time that this particular exhibit was created, there was a backlash from people who were against dropping the bomb. However, those voices were silenced by the creation of the exhibit and the one sided message that it portrayed. The government worked to ensure its actions against Japan would be remembered as heroic and necessary.

Museums have been used to serve as public memory not only to remember semi-recent wars but also to remind us of people and lifestyles that are attributed to the founding years of our American civilization. There are many sites that house artifacts

from early settlers and beginning politics of the U.S. In the Western states; people have constructed places to remind us of important figures such as the Donner party and the historical figure of Buffalo Bill. In Wyoming there is a museum designated to remembering the "Wild West." Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki (2005) examine this site and how it has been used to push one aspect of the history of Americans settling the West: "With its dramatic images of untamed lands and cowboy heroes, frontier mythology is distinctly Anglo and 'American' in character" (p. 86). In their research, they go on to explain the ways that the artifacts and displays in this specific museum are used to advance images of masculinity and to elevate images of whiteness in regards to the struggle between the Anglo pioneers, and the Native Americans who had existed there for centuries (Dickinson et al, 2005). The perspective that this research brings to light is important because it helps to recognize the voice that is missing from the version of history replicated in this museum. While this site dedicated to Buffalo Bill helps visitors to remember one aspect of that particular time in history, Dickinson and his fellow researchers remind us that these representations need to be considered as only one part of what actually occurred:

> The Buffalo Bill Museum, then, serves as a pedagogical site, working to teach its visitors about the Old West and in so doing inculcating a particular vision not only of "the West" but also of what it means to be American. (Dickinson et al, 2005, p. 88)

This museum serves several purposes, and it is important to be able to take a step back when visiting a site such as this and remember that the construction choices speak to an important aspect of history. Other stories related to this time in the past need to be addressed as well. For example, the culture of existing Native Americans at the time is

only subtly explored. Instead the site caters more to the ideas of exploring and conquering the wilderness as was the popular endeavor of the time. This museum serves as a site of memory not only in reference to Buffalo Bill, but also to the old western lifestyle in general. Museums therefore are multifunctional as they remember struggles, adventures, and lifestyles of certain cultures in history. While they may make reference to specific people, the overarching idea is to give an example of what life in general was like at a certain time and place.

While I was able to find clear trends in current public memory research, additional work in this area is still warranted. There are still many other events, sites, and people who deserve to be visited through the communication lens. Further work in public memory is necessary in order to expand upon existing research not only regarding the memory of individuals, or certain events, but of groups and social movements as well. It is also important for future research to consider other influences on public memory to a greater extent, such as media coverage and how the media helps to construct the history that affects and surrounds public memory sites.

This literature review serves as an example of the current conversations in social protest, media coverage, and public memory. Social protest has been well researched and several important themes addressed. Previous work will help guide the analysis of this thesis. Existing work has focused on who is leading the social movements and why they are protesting to begin with. The group's goals and objectives are analyzed to try and establish trends and a great amount of knowledge has come from these published results. Current work has also shown how social action creates meaning and how media coverage

can help give voice to this. However there are many struggles left to be analyzed and I argue that the post-1989 situation in Berlin is one of them. I have shown how scholarly work on media coverage and effects has been directly linked to uncovering hidden motivations as well. Sometimes these benefit the media source, other times the true benefiting group is much larger and powerful in scale, such as an entire political party. Media coverage helps to give voice to current events and issues and in doing so it helps shape our perception of history and what will be memorialized and remembered. Current work on public memory focuses on how important people and events are chosen to be remembered. Public memory can be co-constructed, but the effort usually begins with someone in power having motivations of his/her own. Regardless of intentions, related research does prove that it is difficult to serve history fairly in later interpretations, because every perspective is biased on some level. While all of this research is compelling, I argue that the lack of research in all three areas with regards to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall necessitates further, collaborative work on these subjects. In my thesis I used a method of interpretive textual analysis to more fully explore the Berlin Wall post 1989 as a media text.

Chapter 3: Method

From the scholarly work that I have been exposed to thus far, the Berlin Wall provides an under-theorized site for the study of public rhetoric and memory. The Wall will be remembered by people around the world who were exposed to the situation through media coverage and political involvement. This is important because the media was the only link many people had to the social protests and demonstrations that led to the end of a forceful Soviet rule spanning multiple decades. This situation lends further insight to all three areas of social protest, media coverage, and public memory and how they are all connected through the ways they create meaning and shape history. It is the goal of this researcher to present further evidence of this through my textual analysis of media coverage during the late 1980s and early '90s. This method seeks to answer the two research questions and contribute further work on Berlin to the field of communication studies. For the methodology I have chosen the qualitative approach of interpretive textual analysis. I have outlined the selection and analysis process to be employed later in the section. First however, it is important to reflect on other research that has also employed the textual analysis method, both from the qualitative as well as quantitative approach.

Previous Research

Textual analysis has been used in both qualitative and quantitative research. Using the quantitative aspect of this method, Weidman (2006) conducted a textual analysis to study publishing patterns of Native American languages in English books over the course of 100 years. Her research began as a student project that she created and

oversaw in the mid '90s. Through their analysis, Weidman and her students found a steady increase of Native American language representations in English language books. While the actual study was conducted over 10 years ago it represents a unique case study of interpretive analysis especially as used in research conducted by students and professors together. In another study, Rudy (2002) used a rhetorical form of interpretive textual analysis to determine the contribution of the book *Verbal Art as Performance* to other texts through a quantitative approach. Rudy and assistant researchers located every scholarly journal article that made reference to *Verbal Art as Performance* starting in 1975 when the book was published. Then they organized the texts by discipline and counted how many times each cited *Verbal Art as Performance*. Rudy (2002) wanted to analyze the range of disciplines that showed interest in the text, and through her research found 240 articles that referenced the book, 84 of which came from Folklore Journals. Through her research, Rudy conducted an extensive study of what current texts her book of choice was mentioned in. In my research, I analyzed a number of texts for connection to my object of study as well, the Berlin Wall. These are examples of textual analyses used in the quantitative sense, but other scholars have used the qualitative approach to this method.

Through the qualitative lens Arens (1995) studied post-Freudian researcher Hilda Doolittle (H.D.), and her work titled *Writing on the Wall*. This research explored how H.D. reclaimed her personal and cultural voice through her writing. Arens (1995) was interested in studying the purpose and structure of *Writing on the Wall* and she used interpretive textual analysis to search for both. She found five major themes that all

related to several influences on H.D's work, including her relationship with Freud, personal traumas that she experienced, and struggles that her generation as a whole experienced dealing with the aftermath of World War II (Arens, 1995). This work is important because it helped give voice to a woman who lived in a difficult time, and worked with influential people. H.D.'s work gives us another look into the past and the method Arens (1995) used helped to reveal what influenced her work. The method of interpretive textual analysis has been used to study other fields as well including one topic I am interested in: media. Goidel and Langley (1995) used this method to study the indirect media effects of economy oriented coverage. In their research, Goidel and Langley analyzed eleven years worth of front page content from *The New York Times*. They divided the covers by month and singled out all of the articles related to the economy and analyzed the tone of the articles. Their results showed that the media choose what stories to cover based on their own agendas and that the amount of attention they give, or don't give, to economy related stories can have a major impact on the audience and their perception of the economy as well (Goidel & Langley, 1995). This research is important because it reminds us of the power that media hold when it comes to our perceptions of current events. Goidel and Langley were able to reveal important trends in media behavior through their use of textual analysis and their work inspired me to use a similar method in my own research. Similar to their work, I believe that the qualitative approach gave me the opportunity to reveal patterns in U.S. media coverage of the situation in Berlin after the deconstruction of the Wall in 1989.

Interpretive textual analysis is an efficient way to get at the meaning of the text and to search for other underlying meanings that may be hidden as well. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) describe this process as the following: "Interpretation involves the translation of an object of analysis from one frame of meaning into another. For the qualitative analyst, interpretation begins with in-depth understanding of first-order concepts" (p. 232). For my research purposes, I believe the qualitative aspect to this method can offer more meaningful results regarding the search for connection to the three areas I am interested in regarding the Berlin Wall, social protest, U.S. media coverage, and public memory. Lindlof and Taylor help describe the qualitative approach: "Interpretations are rarely created in linear, stepwise mode of data analysis. Instead, interpretation operates more in the mode of pattern recognition" (2002, p. 232). Interpretive textual analysis is a method of digging deeper into a text in order to find more complex meaning as opposed to surface level value. The basic idea of textual analysis is to look for themes or signs to emerge from the artifact in study. Qualitative analysis is not as literal as the quantitative approach and involves looking for similar ideas and word use that lend to patterns such as a certain emotion present in multiple texts. As aforementioned, the textual analysis approach has been used by many scholars from varied backgrounds. Their work has helped to guide and inspire the research I conducted through a similar method of my own.

Methodology

Selection. I studied how the U.S. print media depicted the initial dismantling of the Wall and its after-effects and how that depiction changed over the following year.

There was a flurry of media coverage when the Wall fell in 1989. However the steps to East joining West again is a situation that warrants further evaluation. I have chosen to focus on U.S. media coverage of this time for several reasons. First, the U.S. media is influential world-wide. U.S. media can be compared to a type of informational and cultural export that for better or worse helps shape opinions all over the world. For example, business leaders, political leaders, and citizens around the globe have their opinions affected by U.S. media. As someone once pointed out to me, what's true for *The New York Times* is not just true for New York.

The influential position that U.S. media are in makes them important to study. Not only because of the reach they have, but also because it is important to consider what messages are being relayed through that large reach. As with any form of media, there is purpose behind the stories that are covered and reported to the rest of the world. The U.S. media has a tendency to approach stories from the U.S. perspective, and this includes the mind frame that democracy is the best political vehicle and that capitalistic ideas should be incorporated in this as well. In this way, the U.S. media helps to perpetuate a neo-liberal ideology of American centric values. Through their coverage, the media help create meaning surrounding the stories they report. They have the opportunity to select and focus on stories that will continue to push and enhance their own agenda and this is part of what makes U.S. media so powerful, and so important to study.

It is this author's position that studying U.S. media coverage of this time period will help to shed further light on the situation between the two Germanys during their

first steps back towards each other. The unification process was one that took integration and time to achieve even after the physical barrier was gone. There were struggles faced by both sides as Berliners worked through the process and this led to social action as different German groups fought to be heard. The year following the dismantling of the Wall represents the most intense time of the reunification process so I chose to focus on this timeframe for the analysis. It was also anticipated that as time wore on, U.S. media coverage of the situation in Berlin would begin to dissipate and become less frequently addressed. Therefore I focused on the year that was most intensely reviewed by media sources. Specifically, the focus was on three print media outlets. These sources include *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *The New York Times*. The three sources chosen represent three leading print media in America. *Time* magazine remains the most popular and leading newsmagazine in the U.S., and has been in circulation since 1923. The second most popular weekly newsmagazine, *Newsweek* has received many National Magazine Awards from the American Society of Magazine Editors and has been in circulation since 1933. Both of these weekly magazines are also published and distributed internationally. *The New York Times* is the oldest of all three sources, first published in 1851, and it is also distributed internationally. Of all the metropolitan, daily newspapers in America, *The New York Times* is the largest. This paper has also won more Pulitzer Prizes than any other newspaper, with a total of 94 to date. Combined, these sources represent three of the top print news sources in the U.S. and this is why I chose to analyze them as the focus of the media related research. I chose to focus on print media as a contribution to further analysis of the situation in Berlin immediately following the fall of the Wall. As

mentioned later, future work can expand on this incremental step by choosing to focus on other forms of media, or some combination of multiple media outlets. This work however seeks to offer a specific contribution and by choosing to narrow my focus, the intent was to offer a deeper insight through the eyes of U.S. leading print media during the year's worth of coverage.

To prepare for the analysis, I searched through each of the three sources for news articles related to the Berlin Wall, Germany, and the reunification efforts during a one-year span from November 1, 1989 through November 30, 1990. This year should represent the crucial, initial coverage of the reunification process and the difficulties faced by both sides of Berlin as a result. The intended focus was to be on the most intense time of the two sides joining together again and this represents the months and year closest to the actual dismantling in November of 1989. In the initial analysis of the media studied, I found that each of the three sources classified their news sections in different ways. In regards to *Time*, I searched through their *World* news section and found 34 related articles during the three-year span. For *Newsweek*, I searched through their *Special Report* and *International* sections and found 38 related articles. Lastly for *The New York Times*, I searched their *World* sections as well and found 350 related articles. Since *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper, the expectation was that this source would have a higher number of relevant articles than the two weekly magazines. In order to have a complementary number of articles from each source, I decided to include every tenth article from *The New York Times* resulting in a total number of 35 articles.

Analysis. Once I had acquired printed versions of all related articles from each of the three sources, they were organized chronologically from oldest to newest, intermixing all three sources in the process. As opposed to analyzing each source individually, I conducted a textual analysis of all three together to better monitor patterns of coverage over the year. The goal was to shed light on U.S. media coverage overall, instead of the credibility of one source over another. Intermixing the articles also allowed a better grasp of what stories gained coverage across multiple media sources, and how this coverage rose and fell over time according to events as they unfolded after the dismantling of the Wall.

Once the articles had been intermixed according to date, it was important to review the research questions that would be focused on as a reminder to what was important to look for in the articles as they were read. I wanted to study how the U.S. print media depicted the initial dismantling of the Wall and its after-effects, and how that depiction changed over the following year. Next I immersed myself in the articles, reading through each to gain an initial sense of what these media sources focused on over the year span. It was essential to do a trial-run through of the text to be analyzed first to be able to approach the coding process that the analysis was built on later. Next I read through each article again, keeping a notebook of major trends and themes as they emerged. Keeping the research inquiry in mind at all times was imperative. As I went through the articles in this second round, there was a continued searched for patterns and themes to emerge from the text that was being analyzed. I asked certain questions as each article was reviewed, such as why the article was written, what purpose, or event

was it relaying to the reader, what were the essential points that the article was trying to convey? I also tried to identify major claims that were presented in the articles and what types of facts were used to support the claims that were advanced. The desire was to compare facts and reasoning as similar articles were, or news pieces written on the same subject but by different sources. Besides claims and evidence, there were other important aspects of the articles to consider as well. What was the tone of the articles, and what type of language did they employ such as repetition of phrases, alliteration, metaphors, imagery, and/or symbolism in the text? These were the questions that guided the second run through of the text analysis and all of the evidence the author found was kept in the notebook as the process moved forward. The main purpose to this stage was to look for initial evidence that helped to answer the research questions, and in the process, identify major trends in the text as it was analyzed. Once the I had finished the second run through of the articles, a third and final round of reading was completed just to be sure no evidence had been missed that would be important to the analysis process. This step was followed by going through the notebook to prepare for the analysis of the notes that had been kept. I followed the same method as aforementioned as the articles were searched for additional themes to emerge in the third read-through.

After the last round of reading the articles was completed, attention was turned towards analyzing the notebook that had been kept through the method so far. Instead of reading through the articles, now the focus was completely on the notes that had been taken based on the second and third readings of them. The intent was to look for clusters in the notes that had been kept. A cluster would consist of a group of notes that were

similar and should be analyzed together because they represent a pattern of some sort. For example, if I found a number of articles that used a similar analogy or metaphor in the text, this would represent a cluster and I would want to study that further to try and grasp what the meaning of the repetition of the use was. I went through the notebook several times looking for evidence to support clusters that emerged from the notes that had been taken. These clusters were the heart of the textual analysis process because they gave meaning to the articles and helped the researcher to make sense of underlying themes in what had been read. The clusters provided the evidence that would help the researcher to either answer, or dismiss the research questions that initiated the process to begin with. Identifying the clusters was an organic process that purely involved identifying the dominant themes that represented clusters as I moved through the notes. I was also looking for clusters relevant to time, and evidence that either supported or negated media coverage changing over time during the year-long span. I wanted to identify times when there was more coverage, and also timeframes when there was less. An intense focus on a certain event in the coverage could also represent an important cluster that should be analyzed in the notes. These steps were all part of the qualitative textual analysis process, a method that this researcher believed would best serve the research inquiry sought to be explored. I was looking for specific evidence in these three U.S. media sources during a specific timeframe. If I were to broaden the scope however, there are other methodological approaches that could be used as opposed to qualitative textual analysis.

Other possibilities could have included interviewing people who lived in Berlin during the time of the reunification, or designing a questionnaire to be filled out by Berliners living on both sides of the Wall and their perspective on life after its deconstruction. However this research endeavor focused on media, thus I believed a textual analysis of U.S. media would shed the most light on trends in coverage after the dismantling of the Wall. Future work on this subject could also employ an analysis using television or radio news coverage instead of print stories at the time of reunification and the years that followed. Other work could also extend the span of time under analysis from one year to five or ten years to consider more extended trends. These research goals were to intensely review the media coverage of three of the top print sources during this one year span, and to identify patterns in how the published stories relayed the reunification process and struggles in Berlin. The efforts therefore were generated towards a qualitative textual analysis of *Time, Newsweek,* and *The New York Times.*

I chose to focus on print media to study as opposed to a combination with television and/or radio news coverage in order to offer specific findings of one aspect of popular media at the time. In regards to the three sources analyzed, this researcher chose to stay away from letters to the editor and political cartoons as these can be seen to be more biased than standard news article writing. I also avoided Arts and Entertainment sections as these usually do not offer the serious insight as most news articles do. The goal was to determine patterns in mainstream print media and news coverage rather than specific instances of popular trends and reader or political cartoonist opinion. Because

the artifact, the Berlin Wall, occurred in Europe, I chose three U.S. media sources that focused on international news in addition to national coverage.

The method of textual analysis has been conducted by many scholars over the years, from both the quantitative and qualitative approach. Some of this work has helped to inspire this research quest using a similar method. While there are many other methods that could be used on researching the situation in Berlin from 1989-1990, it is this researcher's belief that analyzing top U.S. print media yielded valuable results regarding not only coverage trends, but also major current events as they unfolded in Germany during this timeframe. By intermixing the relevant articles I was able to find important patterns and clusters in all of the sources. Keeping a notebook as progression was made through the published work helped to record clusters of coverage as they unfolded during the analysis. The themes that were found are organized and addressed in the Analysis section to follow.

Chapter 4: Analysis

In the twelve months of U.S. media coverage that followed the initial dismantling of the Berlin Wall, I found many different issues addressed in the articles I read. As discussed in chapter two, the media play an important role in forming what people are exposed to all around the world, and their bias can help shape the perception of their readers as well. In this chapter I present my research findings according to the interpretive textual analysis I conducted using U.S. media coverage of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. My analysis consisted of twelve months worth of print news articles that covered the situation in Berlin and the two Germanys following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. My three U.S. media sources, *The New York Times, Time* and *Newsweek* offered a similar amount of coverage in regards to the situation in Berlin and the two Germanys during this timeframe. All together I found 35 relevant *New York Times* articles, 34 relevant *Time* magazine articles, and 38 relevant *Newsweek* articles that dealt with the aftermath of the fall of the Wall in East and West Germany. As I combed through the articles from my three media sources, I found three major themes: coverage surrounding social action and protest, coverage of political issues that evolved due to the dismantling of the Wall, and coverage of economic issues faced by the region--East Germany specifically--during the twelve months that followed. East Germans were faced with many different issues, on a social, political and economic level. As the media coverage will show, all three themes were connected.

The social issues began as a response to 28 years of repression. As the protests and demonstrations continued they began to have powerful effects on East Germany,

causing a complete political shakeup. The months that followed the end of the Berlin barrier saw East German leaders scrambling to create some new form of social democracy that could appease the protesting crowds, but still connect in a way to their Soviet past. Eventually however, it was the economic situation in East Germany that forced the social and political issues to accept the choice to reunite with West Germany. With so much chaos surrounding the initial days and weeks that followed the dismantling of the Wall, the road to long-term stability for East Germany was uncertain. As my analysis of the U.S. media coverage shows, two clear paths emerged in regards to how East Germany could solve the social, political and economic issues that plagued them. These two paths represented conflicting perspectives: one symbolized remaining an independent country and forming a new government, the other symbolized support of reunification with West Germany. Through my analysis I will show how opposition to reunification emerged as the first and dominant path to East German stability. This was most apparent in the initial coverage of social protest and political issues. Faced by multiple obstacles and complete economic turmoil, however, there became only one practical route for East Germans to take. This was the path leading back to West Germany through the form of complete reunification.

In the analysis that follows I will travel through each major theme I found chronologically as the coverage unfolded. I believe this is the best way to portray the perspectives and the shifts as they emerged due to a time line of events that eventually altered the dominant East German ideology. I will also include specific examples of U.S. media word choice and symbolism through the way they portrayed these events as they

occurred. I will show that U.S. media coverage included numerous analogies regarding the situation in Berlin and East Germany including comparisons between the struggles in East Germany to natural disasters. There is also consistent imagery used regarding a comparison between the two Germanys as West Germany is often portrayed through media coverage as strong and successful and powerful as compared to East Germany. This transitions into an eventual analogy between the two Germanys and a fairytale as the heroic West Germany comes to rescue the suffering East. First I begin with coverage surrounding the issues of social protest that led up to the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.

Social Action and Protest Coverage

The first theme that emerged from the three media sources I studied in regards to the situation in Berlin dealt with social action and protest. As Figure 1 indicates, media coverage of social action and protest was most intense surrounding the period immediately following the fall of the Wall. Generally speaking, history attributes the initial breech of the Wall to a flurry of social protests in Berlin and in all of East Germany. Suffocated by the Soviet rule for 28 years, East Germans were fed up with the way they had been treated. They had been trapped in East Germany for nearly three decades, unable to travel to see family or friends or the rest of the outside world. They were forced to work every day at jobs that their communist government chose for them, as opposed to the jobs they personally wanted to pursue. While everyone was guaranteed employment, they were all underpaid. They were tired of feeling like they had no control over their future.

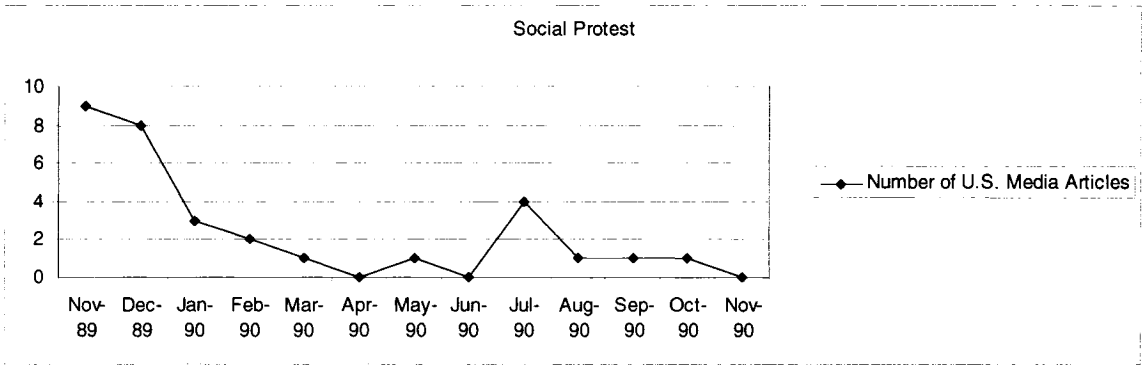

Figure 1. Social Action and Protest Coverage

This feeling was not exclusive to East Germans but extended to most of the people living in the East Bloc, including citizens in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, where social protests and demonstrations occurred regularly. These countries all began to stage local demonstrations, protesting for radical changes. They marched from country to country in the Eastern European nations controlled by the Soviets. They were all fed up with the way they had been treated, and as each country began to rise up in protest, a forecast of tremendous change was looming. In an attempt to gain attention from a government who had steered clear of reform by clutching to communism, East Germans also united and staged peaceful protests from city to city. The media coverage studied shows the power of these protests through a *Time* article: "Hundreds of thousands marched through East Berlin on Saturday calling for change. In many major cities tens of thousands attended open-air meetings with government and party leaders to vent their complaints and demands" (Vienna, 1989, para.1). The media's use of the word "vent" in this quote is important because it is the first example of a pattern that emerges in the coverage. This pattern represents analogies between the

situation in East German to natural forces and types of natural disasters. *Time* shared the stories of social demonstrations in the East German city of Leipzig as well:

> Through more than a month of spontaneous, peaceful demonstrations, which often brought more than half of the city's population into the streets, Leipzig's workers precipitated the ouster of repressive party leader Erich Honecker and helped inspire the historic breach of the Berlin Wall. "They call us 'the Leipzig Miracle,' "says Alfred Richter..."But it was caused by all of us little people who had had enough, and found the courage to say so." (Banta, 1989, para. 1)

This quote is important because it shows the power of the "little people" to initiate great social change through their organized protests. This goes back to the importance of social protest as a method for promoting change and creating meaning through media coverage. U.S. media shows that social action by the people was seen most intensely in East Berlin and Leipzig. *The New York Times* covered these social protests: "One early test of the popular determination was to come on Monday in Leipzig. The weekly marches in the southern city drew crowds up to 300,000 in recent weeks, and the placards had come to serve as something of a barometer of the public mood" (Schmemann, 1989, para. 29). The use of the word "barometer" in this quote is another example of how the media used naturalistic analogies to describe the situation in East Germany. These led up to and increased towards the end of 1989. As the *New York Times* shows, the social action that was taking place in Germany was an important outlet for East Germans: "Kurt Masur, the director of Leipzig's orchestra house and a driving spirit behind the mass movement, echoed the sentiment when he said East Germans 'should not be content with what has been achieved,' and should continue to press for political and economic change" (Schmemann, 1989, para. 26). Reacting to the forceful voice of his people, the leader of East Germany, Erich Honecker, resigned from his position after serving from 1971 to

1989. Attempting to appease the gathering masses of East Germans demanding political and economic change, the new East German leader, Egon Kreck, reacted by lifting travel restrictions. This finally allowed East Germans to unite with West Germans. Quickly, citizens of East Berlin overwhelmed border guards stationed at the Wall that had held them from the West for 28 years and as they poured through they were greeted by cheering West Berliners waiting on the other side.

That November day is one that history will always remember. Imagine living your entire life just blocks from family and friends and then one day your government decides to build a huge wall separating you. From that point on you are unable to visit or have any type of physical contact with the people you had been close to your entire life. You are unable to visit the places you liked to shop, or even travel to your job. You have become decapitated from your previous lifestyle. This is your new reality for the following 28 years. Then, almost as suddenly as the Wall was introduced into your life, it is gone. You are allowed to cross that border to your former world and reunite with loved ones. This would be a profound moment, and for East and West Germans reuniting, it was. Imagine being in your early twenties and have never been allowed to travel outside of your small country. Finally you are able to venture outside the communist confines that had held you back for so long. This would be a liberating and likely bewildering time. These are just some of the emotions that East Germans faced as the Berlin Wall ceased to block them from the rest of the world.

Travel options helped to free East Berliners. However, the U.S. media coverage shows that this was only the first step in the reforms that the protesters wanted to see

happen. East Germans continued demonstrations to push for changes on a political level as well and *The New York Times* shows that President Krenz responded by committing to a restructuring of the Communist party's goals, promising that congress could elect a new Central Committee: "Mr. Krenz evidently succumbed to pressure from rank-and-file party members, who demonstrated last week with banners demanding an immediate congress, and to the lightning-like chain of events" (Schmemann, 1989, para. 7). Here *The New York Times* uses another nature related analogy to describe the changes happening in East Germany. Things were evolving so quickly that they were being compared to the swift and powerful force of lightning. This quote is also another example that shows the power to acquire great change through social action. This article goes on to explain: "The significance of the change was that a full congress would be empowered to elect an entirely new Central Committee and to totally change the party's goals" (Schmemann, 1989, para. 7). Great political shakeups were happening in East Germany and U.S. media helped to convey this to the rest of the world.

This was another step towards reform that was initiated by the public demonstrations and marches of East Germans who demanded change. As the print articles during this time of conflict show, East Berlin remained active with social protests as hundreds of thousands continued demonstrations to push for more drastic changes on multiple levels. In effect, the people were vocalizing their desire for a pristine East German system. In the days after the initial dismantling of the Wall, *Time* points out that the protesters wanted to revolutionize their own country, as opposed to a political reunification with West Germany: "Reunification is not the word most on the lips of the

Leipzig protesters. Yet their demands for political and economic liberalization, if realized, would create a new East Germany--and a new German-German relationship" (Vienna, 1989, para. 7). This coverage is important because the media was conveying the drastic changes that were underway. East Germans were beginning to see results from their social demonstrations, and their call to action was echoed repeatedly through U.S. media coverage as the days moved on. Just four days after East Berliners were first permitted to freely visit West Berlin, *Newsweek* shows that the people's revolution continued, gathering strength and attention at the same time:

> Change is coming to East Germany, and it is coming with the force of an avalanche. When several thousand protesters began a march outside East Berlin's state television headquarters last Saturday, they had no idea they were starting one of the biggest demonstrations in European history. As they paraded through the streets, nearly two thirds of the city's population turned out to join them. "Freedom," they chanted. "Democracy." They waved banners: "Egon, here we come"--a warning to the country's new leader, Egon Krenz that the people were on the rise. By the time the crowd reached the Alexander-platz, a central square half a mile from the Berlin Wall, they numbered close to a million. To thunderous applause, protesters demanded free elections, freedom of the press and an end to the police state. Their cries reverberated throughout Berlin, the country--and the world. (Meyer & Breslau, 1989, p. 52)

This article shows how U.S. media began to refer to the changes in East Germany as a natural force. Through the media's descriptive words such as "avalanche" and "thunderous," they paint a word picture for their readers of the massive changes facing the East German government and the existing East German way of life. Dissatisfaction had been brewing, and the need for change building up for so long that the explosion of social action was similar to a powerful storm or other form of natural disaster. Much like an earthquake or a volcano, pressure had been building and the system was finally forced to react. With freedom to travel, and the promise of at least some political restructuring,

the print sources I studied show that the East German movement became intensified as hundreds of thousands of citizens not only in East Berlin, but all across the country joined the demands for reform. *Newsweek* coverage of this phenomenon focuses on how the demonstrations attracted a diverse group of East German citizens:

> In contrast to previous demonstrations, attended mostly by young people, last week's rally was a cross section of society. Mothers marched with children and grandparents. Workers mingled with middle-class professionals. "We've been afraid to come out until now," said an elderly couple. Krenz might be mindful of those words--and of the thousands who now shout, "We are the people." (Meyer & Breslau, 1989, p. 52)

This quote shows that media coverage sought to personalize this situation and make it one that a diverse audience could identify with by focusing on the different types of people joining together to protest these massive changes. This quote is also important because it reiterates previous thoughts of the average person being able to promote and create change through social protest. The media is careful to point out here that all classes of people were working together to promote change, and that is also reflective of the American dream which ideally can be achieved by anyone willing to take action. All three of the U.S. media sources studied focused on the political reforms that East German citizens were demanding during these first crucial days and weeks on the road to independence.

The word "freedom" was frequently used during the protests all across the country, as *Time* coverage shows: "But each demonstration, each improvised banner calling for freedom and each East German who turns up seeking asylum at the West German embassy in Prague is already bringing a divided nation closer together" (Vienna, 1989, para. 14). Repressed for so long, a sense of freedom was what East Germans

longed for most. Freedom to travel, freedom to choose their government, freedom to choose their jobs and their cars. Their desire for freedom preceded any other feelings of reconciliation, or retaliation because freedom was that first necessary step. Once they were allowed at least a few liberties, then the other feelings would likely follow. And they did begin to follow quickly as *The New York Times* reported:

> The marches were marked by the restraint and discipline that have been a hallmark of the continuing protests in East Germany, which many are calling a "revolution from below." They seemed to demonstrate a conviction among the people that by continuing to take to the streets can they obtain fundamental changes, first among them free elections with secret ballots. (Schmemann, 1989, para. 4)

Revolution was another common word used in the protests and demonstrations because a complete political and economic reform was what the people believed was necessary to save East Germany. These citizens believed that they could save their country through radical action and they were determined to do so. U.S. media shows that their social action was peaceful for the most part. East Germans were organized and disciplined when it came to their vocalization of revolution. This was an important part of how East Germans were initially viewed by others around the world learning of the day to day events mostly through media coverage of one form or another. All three of the sources studied were united in their presentation of East Germans as peaceful people pushed to the edge by a neglective government, and willing to stage massive social marches to gain the attention they deserved from their new President, Egon Krenz. They found themselves in a powerful position, because as soon as travel restrictions were lifted, thousands of East Germans were fleeing the country daily. Some of them of course would eventually return, but the media coverage at this point in time focused on the fact

that many people were leaving who had never been outside of East Germany in their entire lifetime, and they wanted to experience the lure of West Germany they had heard about for so long.

Those who stayed, or quickly returned to East Germany, remained for a reason. They had seized the initial responses they desired from their existing government leaders, and now it was time to forge further down this new path. A *Newsweek* article published just eleven days after the two Germany's were first allowed to cross each other's borders describes the power that East Germans now held over their leaders: "Rank-and-file reformers can use a kind of civic blackmail to promote change. At a huge demonstration in Leipzig recently, the crowd chanted: 'In one day, I can be out of here.' Those who choose not to leave generally are committed to socialist ideals" (Watson, Meyer, & Breslau, 1989, p. 31). This article reiterates the point that East Germans were not fighting to be merged with West Germany. Many of them believed in the foundations of socialism that they had been steered towards under Soviet rule. However, some of the hard-line aspects of communism specifically were what drove them to such social extremes.

Media coverage goes on to show that initially the protesters seemed to unite peacefully, but as the days passed without much responsive action from their leaders, *Time* relays that the East Germans became more frustrated with their situation and the chaos that surrounded them:

> In hundreds of meetings across the country, including Communist Party gatherings, people poured out their disgust, demanding that their former leaders be investigated and, if necessary, tried and punished. Inevitably, perhaps, the time for retribution had come. During one of the almost nightly mass rallies in

> Leipzig, the mood was summed up by a young speaker who condemned the regime, shouting "You treated us like a herd of cattle." (Painton, 1989, para. 2)

Now we see the idea of retribution begin to surface within media accounts. It began with freedom, and then moved to revolution and now retribution. Change was slow to come and as East German leaders fumbled with ideas on how best to move forward, the people became more frustrated as their current situation continued to deteriorate. Major reconstruction was going to be necessary and as the people's reform movement pushed forward, the U.S. media coverage repeatedly makes reference to certain groups that emerged from the social action to help lead the people. A *New York Times* article focused on one of these groups was, New Forum:

> "Our motivation from the beginning was to break the chains and be free to set our own course," Mr. Pflugbeil, a 42-year-old physicist, said, returning late in the evening from an election meeting. "Instead," he said, "the tumbling of the wall cleared the way for a takeover by West Germany's powerful businessmen and political parties." (Kamm, 1990, para. 4)

This quote creates an image of repression being overcome as the chains are broken and the inflicted are freed. This is important to note because it connects with the American ideal of freedom and breaking free from oppressors. One of the key factors driving the New Forum line of thinking, as presented through the coverage, was that these East Germans wanted to reunite with West Germany on a gradual timeframe. The same *New York Times* article goes on to explain their preferred approach: "New Forum and the two groups with which it forms an election coalition...do not oppose reunification. They want reunification to be a gradual process during which East Germany, with West German help, would rise to a more comparable level of economic strength" (Kamm, 1990, para. 10). The media coverage helps to construct the struggle between immediate

versus gradual change by giving voice to New Forum and its perspective. The rhetorical struggle here can be seen through the media's use of phrasing the preference that would allow the two Germanys to become more economically balanced over time. The alternative route would be to rush into a literal takeover of their country, thereby counteracting the work they had pushed for in regards to political and economic reform. In early November of '89, after their demonstrations were met by permission to travel freely, the majority of East Germans became even more dedicated to their pursuit of other freedoms, including the freedom to decide how their country should be properly run. But growing dissatisfaction with the lack of desired political response opened the door to further doubts that such reform would ever be possible in their depleting nation.

Reunification with West Germany became the only choice for East Germans, negating months of previous work to try and solve their national angst on their own. Succumbing to the reality of a take over from the West, *Newsweek* coverage shows how the East Germans began to mentally prepare to be reunited with West Germany:

> "Wir sind ein Volk," they chanted in Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin: we are one people... After 45 years East and West Germans have grown apart. Now, as they come together in pursuit of prosperity, the Germans are ignoring a little secret. The new Germany will be one nation, but two peoples. (Meyer, 1990, p. 37)

This is an important consideration raised by the media coverage during this time. The two Germanys had been separated for so long that reunification would be difficult, especially when East Germany had initially fought so hard to remain independent. There were deep mental rifts here and the media coverage acknowledges that. The situation had become desperate for East Germans. In the months that followed the breach of the Wall, their country had fallen further from stability, and instead into shambles. Though their

social protests were peaceful for the most part; their cries for freedom and reform had been reciprocated rarely by their own government, but instead by the leaders of West Germany. For West Germany, the opportunity to reunite had been ever growing. It can not fully be determined by the U.S. media coverage whether West German intention was truly to help their struggling brothers and sisters in East Germany, or whether they merely saw the opportunity to become a stronger European nation by joining together. Perhaps it was even a combination of both.

Overall, the media coverage of the social action thread shows several important rhetorical strategies. U.S. coverage helped to give credit to the power of the social protests and demonstrations by giving ample coverage to the mass marches as they happened. The media also helped to personalize the situation by focusing on the actual people involved in the situation, showing how all types and ages of East Germans were fed up and willing to protest to help encourage change. Media coverage also shows how the upheaval in East Germany was compared to a natural disaster through descriptive word use such as "lightning," "avalanche," and "thunderous." This coverage focused mostly on the tremendous change that resulted from the social action.

As the months passed, the coverage shows that the Soviet leaders realized East Germany was only one of many problems they themselves faced. Literally all of the Soviet controlled countries were in economic distress and social chaos. Citizens across all of the Eastern Bloc were restless and demanding change. In regards to the German question, it became clear to even the Soviets that reunification was inevitable. But this would entail a major political shift to democracy through the vehicle of West Germany.

The process of how this decision to switch gears was reached is worth taking a closer look at through the eyes of the U.S. media coverage studied in regards to political topics.

Political Issues Coverage

In the days following the ease of travel restrictions in East Germany, everything about the Communist lifestyle for East Germans became uncertain and anything seemed possible. The Berlin Wall was no longer a barrier meant to keep East Germans enclosed in a world of Soviet rule and as thousands poured across the border each day; it became clear that major changes were going to happen in this section of Eastern Europe. Similar to the coverage pattern of social action and protest, Figure 2 shows that coverage of political issues in the U.S. media I studied also peaked just after the dismantling of the Wall. In the couple of months that followed there was a decrease in coverage of political issues and levels remained relatively consistent through out the rest of the following ten months.

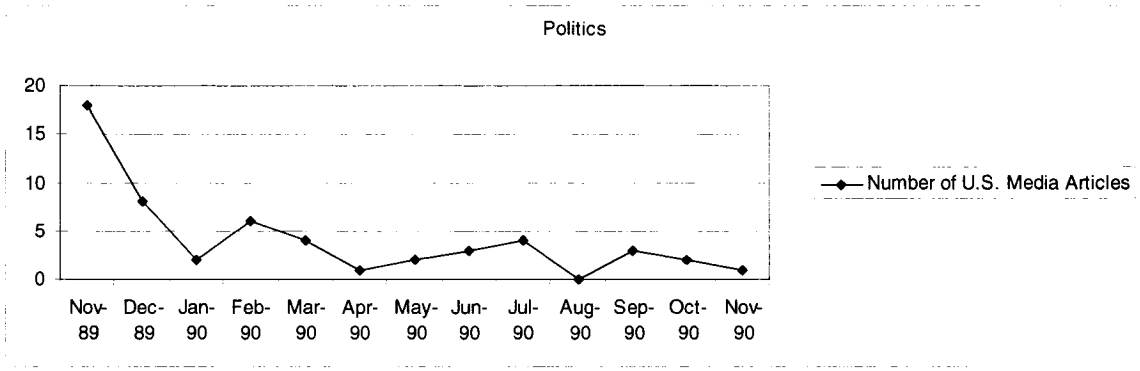

Figure 2. Political Issues Coverage

As aforementioned, the U.S. media coverage of this catalytic time focused mostly on three themes: coverage of social action by the people, coverage of political issues, and finally coverage of the economic crisis that eventually led to the reunification of the two

long separated German countries. The process of how these two opposite paths eventually merged is fascinating. The political issues facing East and West Germany, and Europe in general, received the most coverage during the year of U.S. print media that I studied. Of 107 articles, half spoke directly to the political crisis that was thrust on this area of Europe, and how the German situation would affect not only their two countries but have a domino effect on the rest of Europe as well.

Within the political coverage that spanned the 12 months following the downfall of the Berlin Wall, U.S. media coverage shows how the initial political reaction was one of crisis and chaos as the Germanys, along with the rest of the world, struggled to find the best political response. Coverage also shows initially that East Germany was fighting to reform their government and stay a nation of their own, as opposed to becoming politically reunited with West Germany. The articles also reveal that the two large superpowers during this time, the U.S., and the Soviet Union, had important investments in what would happen between the two Germanys. Each side struggled to keep their political interests involved regarding previous agreements through NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Eventually, however, coverage begins to focus more and more on West Germany's desire to consume East Germany. Facing economic collapse, and receiving little political reform by their own government, East Germans succumbed to the might of West Germany, and there is a clear shift in desire as the two Germany's turn towards the same political effort of reunification. Now I would like to take a closer look at how the side streets of different political desires and expectations merged through U.S. media coverage into the road to eventual reunification.

The day following the first flood of East Berliners through the Wall to the West was marked by intense media coverage of the event and *The New York Times* focused on the immediate political fallout that was sure to unfold: "The entire structure of the postwar European order, which maintained stability for the last 40 years, has been based on a divided Germany" (Friedman, 1989, para. 4). This speaks to the initial political concerns of the rest of the world following the breach of the Wall. A situation that had helped to restore some order following World War II was now ending and the future seemed uncertain. Immediately, different countries started wondering what kind of political situation would follow. Would East Germany successfully reform its government and remain independent, or would there be a gradual reunification process with the West? These were just some of the questions portrayed through the first days of U.S. media coverage regarding this major European shakeup. One thing was certain: as soon as East Berliners were able, they flocked to the West in massive numbers, making it clear that on some level they were ready to be reunited with their former country. Scrambling to make a political move to keep his people as East German citizens, *The New York Times* shows how President Krenz created an initial plan to appeal to the reform efforts that social demonstrations had vocalized wanting. "We plan a great work, a revolution on German soil that will bring us a socialism that is economically effective, politically democratic, and morally clean and will turn to the people in everything," (Schmemann, 1989, para. 30). This coverage shows how Krenz was attempting to make his reform efforts obvious to East Germans who posed a huge threat to future stability by their continuing large exodus. The U.S. media coverage at this time repeatedly mentions

the importance of the German situation to Europe as a whole. Just two days after the breach of the Berlin wall, *The New York Times* reported Prime Minister Michel Rocard of France as saying: "As long as there is internal struggle in Germany...there can be no security in Europe" (Rule, 1989, para.9). Another *New York Times* article goes on to show how neighboring countries were affected by the changes as well: "The people of Poland and Czechoslovakia, of Hungary and Bulgaria, clearly hope that once their freedom is established, once the threat of war between East and West has truly receded, they will be able to restore long-ruptured links with the rest of Europe" (Apple, 1989, para. 4). Along with Germany, Europe had been broken into halves as well and *The New York Times* continued to make the link to the outcome of the Germanys affecting the rest of Europe:

> The tumult across East Germany, on the day after West European leaders held a hastily convened summit meeting, seemed to underscore the challenge facing the West as it looks for ways to help Eastern Europe emerge from poverty and Communist paternalism without disrupting the careful balance that had evolved over more than 40 years of division. (Schmemann, 1989, para. 7)

In this quote, *The New York Times* makes it clear that East Germany was depending on West Germany to be its savior, and to save it from the poverty it had fallen into. This is important because the U.S. had an interest in West Germany being viewed as strong and successful and able to save its failing neighbor because West Germany was politically tied to the Western allies and Western ideals. U.S. media makes the point here that although the division of Europe had a tumultuous effect on East Germany, it still had eventually created some sort of political balance overall. This choice of words by media coverage shows that these changes were going to be disruptive. On the other hand,

German reunification symbolized the possibility for Europe to reunite as well, with the Western countries eventually welcoming back in the Eastern European countries that had been pulled away under Soviet rule.

In the meantime, *Time* coverage shows how Krenz recognized the time as an important opportunity to make known that he intended to offer certain freedoms and privileges to his citizens, without necessarily plunging in with West Germany: "He flatly rejected any suggestion that East Germany might be merging into the West. 'The question is not on the table,' he said. 'Socialism and capitalism have never existed together on German soil'" (Vienna, 1989, para. 4). The media's use of the word "flatly" to describe Krenz's rejection of reunification is important here because it helps to clarify U.S. interpretation of his outlook at this time. The media is showing that Krenz was leaving little room for doubt regarding his position, and by using the word "flatly," they help to describe his straightforward intentions. The coverage studied shows how this was an important declaration for Krenz to make because it clarified to the world that East Germany would remain its own country, despite circulating ideas of political reunification. U.S. media shows that while German citizens from both countries may have been reuniting on a personal level, the line was being drawn by at least one side at any type of political union.

Media coverage of this time begins to focus on another issue as well as the articles reflect a feeling of opposition to reunification not just by East German leadership, but by some European neighbors as well. *Time* magazine describes this growing perspective:

> The trouble is that Europe, East or West, has few ideas, let alone answers, about how historical fears might be reconciled with a democratic German decision to reunite. The European powers and the U.S. may not like the idea of a single Germany with 78 million citizens in the heart of Europe. But they have paid lip service to the proposition since World War II, so they are hardly in a position to object if it emerged as the freely chosen will of a divided people. (Vienna, 1989, para. 10)

There were multiple political fears being expressed through the media coverage at this time. From the perspective of the U.S. and Western Europe, any kind of reunification would ideally be tied to NATO to ensure that the new Germany was still politically aligned with Western ideologies. On the other hand, the Soviets would adamantly oppose this because it would mean they would have little to no political involvement with Germany, losing an important and powerful country. East Germany would become its own master, and the Soviets could only hope to maintain some sort of military presence at best. The breakdown of the existing political situation meant that any outcome could be possible; therefore anxiety was increasing on multiple levels for many countries worldwide.

All of these political fears were expressed through the coverage I read within the first week of the fall of the Wall in Berlin. Change was happening quickly and the following week of *Time* coverage showed greater political response. West Germany's government was prompt to stay involved as well as their leader, Chancellor Kohl described:

> "Nothing will be the same again. The winds of change blowing through Europe have not avoided East Germany." Kohl, who drew some boos and whistles as well as cheers, repeated his offer to extend major financial and economic aid to East Germany if it carried through on its pledges to permit a free press and free elections. "We are ready to help you rebuild your country," said Kohl. "You are not alone." (Church, 1989, para. 15)

This *Time* article shows another analogy between the changes happening in East Germany to a natural situation. Earlier we saw a similar analogy as the social action led to major changes in the country was compared to an avalanche. We see a similar approach in another *Time* article as well: "The tide of events is washing away leaders and eroding the ideology of a rigidly orthodox state" (Vienna, 1989, para. 3). The media continued to use natural analogies to the German situation. The fact that East German leadership was so unstable opened the door for Kohl to step in as he began to make offers of different types of aid. Kohl supported East Germany moving towards more political freedom, especially when that outcome would reflect a capitalistic system similar to the one established in West Germany already.

At this point another important shift takes place in U.S. media coverage as different aspects of East Germany's future come into consideration. *The New York Times* shows how East Germans took their future into their hands through social demonstrations: "All at once, East German citizens felt emboldened to take their destinies into their own hands, and those who stayed home began the street demonstrations that soon became the deciding factor in the politics of this country" (Binder, 1989, para. 27). This quote reiterates the importance of social protest and the power of the average "little" person to initiate change. One of the leading groups of the social demonstrations was New Forum. Its members stuck close to the idea that East Germany should remain its own country, and was opposed to quick reunification. *Time* reports that along with other former communist countries, this group wanted to see an evolved socialist state occur instead: "Thus East Germany probably can be added, along with Poland and Hungary, to

the list of East Europeans states that are trying to abandon orthodox Communism for some as-yet-nebulous from of social democracy" (Church, 1989, para. 4). One of the points of confusion however was that several of the political solutions raised by East Germans involved a compromised version of socialism, introducing democratic ideas and freedoms into the picture as well. As *Newsweek* covered this growing interest they also cautioned that the discrepancy between what aspects of the desired reform would still allow the East Germans political reason to stay detached from West Germany: "There is no historic basis for the East German state except as a Communist outpost. If it becomes democratic, it losses the rationale for its separate existence" (Kissinger, 1989, p. 51). In this way, the media showed that as the country moved closer to a democracy on numerous levels, they began to lose their argument for remaining separate from their democratic sister country.

To complicate the situation further, East Germans had ousted another leader, as President Krenz was forced to resign after failing to deliver some sense of order to his country. In his place, Dr. Gregor Gysi stepped in to take over East Germany, but as the third leader of the country within less than two months, his political life expectancy seemed questionable as well. Approximately nine weeks following the historical events of November ninth, many people were still skeptical as to whether East Germany could survive on its own. However, the idea of a merger, reunification, still seemed almost impossible. There were growing concerns on both sides of what used to be the Berlin Wall, and the media coverage during this time shows some of the concerns facing both East and West Germans. A *Time* magazine article addresses some of the concerns

regarding reunification: "East Germans might reject the bitter side of capitalism, competition and unemployment. West Germans, already fearful of an immigrant invasion from the East, might well shrink from the cost and inconvenience of accommodating their poorer brethren" (Painton, 1989, para. 22). Again, the media's choice of words here helps to create an image of a strong West Germany saving the helpless East. This benefits the U.S. media because it supports the idea that countries tied to Western ways of living are stronger and more successful than others may be. An article the same day by *Newsweek* explains that the Soviets opted to vocalize their support for cooperation between the Germanys but still drew the line at political reunification: "The Soviets made a careful distinction between inter-German cooperation, which they support, and reunification, which they adamantly oppose for the present" (Watson & Breslau, 1989, p. 34). It appeared that the Soviets as well as East and West Germans knew that the two countries were coming closer together but there was still apprehension when it came to a complete reunification. *Time* coverage goes on to show that Europe was cautious of this possibility as well: "Many Europeans are apprehensive about reassembling a Germany of 77 million people in the center of the Continent" (Nelan, 1990, para.8). The German history involved painful memories for surrounding countries. While most people agreed that the German people should be able to reunite on a personal level, political reunification posed a possible threat to Europe in terms of the power that the country could again grow to possess.

Two months later, without the emergence of an alternative solution, another shift in U.S. media coverage occurs as I found that support from all parties for reunification

begins. This is first addressed by *Time* in early February of '90 when they report that the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, first begins to publicly accept the certainty of eventual German reunification: "Asked about the possibility of the two Germanys becoming one, Gorbachev replied, 'Basically, no one casts any doubt on it'" (*The big merger*, 1990, para. 1). *Newsweek* reported that West Germany's leader, Kohl, was quick to jump on the opportunity to further his immediate support and aid to East Germany, and in a growing crisis situation, East Germans also began to accept the fate of reunification that lay before them:

> According to a poll released last week, 87 percent of East Germans want reunification (as do 81 percent of West Germans).... The demand for unity is so strong that some opposition parties, which originally wanted to find a "third way" between communism and capitalism, have come around to reunification. (Watson & Meyer, 1990, p. 35)

Media coverage shows how the situation was quickly beginning to transform as previous groups and leaders shifted to supporting reunification. This marked the true political beginning of the end of two separate Germanys. The two separate countries were now headed down the same path. Even their former stronghold, the Soviet Union was pushing East Germany into the arms of the West.

Quick to stay politically involved, the U.S. came up with a proposition for the Soviets they named Two plus Four. This was conveyed through U.S. media coverage which explained the process as starting with an internal merger by the two Germanys. Once their governments could agree on specific reunification steps, then the other four world powers would come into the picture. These four powers were the "winners" of World War II: The U.S., France, Britain, and the Soviet Union. At this point, the four

superpowers would meet with the German leaders to discuss how they would remain tied to the new German state, through existing alliances and military attendance. This was an important plan to implement because it meant that the German situation would be left to the Germans to decide. However, once their own conditions had been worked out, other world powers would have their say in the position that the new Germany would have in Europe. As aforementioned, U.S. media coverage showed that most of the other European countries were hesitant to see the Germanys united. Previous articles explained that this feeling was based on the destruction the powerful nation had caused numerous times in the past. *Time* magazine described this attitude as "Germanophobia," and goes on to write how an unidentified Dutch official stated "Except for the Germans, no one in Europe wants reunification" (Nelan, 1990, para. 15). This is an important perspective to acknowledge because it shows the hesitation that most of the world still had about what a unified Germany would mean.

Up to this point, the U.S. media coverage had been primarily focusing on the opposition to German reunification. The political situation started off as appearing to be one that could be resolved by a new revolutionized East Germany. However, as the exodus of its citizens continued, the East was falling apart and although the majority of citizens who stayed were adamant about remaining independent, U.S. media shows how they eventually gravitated toward accepting reunification as their only means of survival. The media portrayed this eventual shift to reunification as the last option East Germans had. It was either reunite with West Germany, or fall deeper into suffering. In mid-March of '90, that realization became solidified with the first round of free East German

elections. *Newsweek* covered this important time in East German history and the shifting attitude of its citizens: "East Germans overwhelmingly favor quick reunification...Those who don't go to the West are encouraged by Kohl's push for reunification and his assurances that their jobs, pensions and savings will be protected" (Watson & Meyer, 1990, p. 28). Even Gorbachev, the Soviet leader now acknowledged the reality of reunification, as *Time* reports him as stating: "Germany should once again become the united fatherland of all the citizens of the German nation," (*The big merger*, 1990, para. 3). Along with leaders around the world, East Germans were also warming up to the idea of joining forces with West Germany. *The New York Times* shows this shift as politically East Germans began to favor West German ideas: "Whatever their sentiments about the West Germans, public-opinion polls consistently show that the large majority will vote for West German-backed parties," (Schmemann, 1990, para. 25). We can see that all three U.S. media sources I studied show the eventual shift to favoring reunification in the examples above. East German elections helped to propel the situation. The result of the election proved that East Germans were now favoring a transition into the West political system and the next historical shift came in July of '90 when the two countries economically reunited. This will be further explored in the following section of my analysis, but it is important to note that this transitioned into the complete political reunification that closed the first twelve months following the end of the Berlin Wall.

Following the March East German elections, and the economic unification in July, Soviet leader Gorbachev accepted the reality and confirmed that the Kremlin would support the new Germany joining NATO as West Germany previously had. This attitude

was accelerated by the continuous political push for full reunification by West Germany's leader Kohl. U.S. media coverage at this time reminded its readers that Kohl had always vocalized the intent to reunite with East Germany; it was something he had fought to speed up throughout the entire year. An article in late July published in *Time* describes the political opportunity that Kohl saw and seized: "During August 1989 5,000 Germans each week had arrived in the West through Hungary. In November, 130,000 streamed through the dust of the Wall. This was domestic politics, for which Kohl has an instinctive feel" (Nelan, 1990, para. 23). Here again we see the use of a naturalistic analogy as the people moving through the broken wall are compared to a stream. This helps to visualize the impact of thousands of people pouring through a passage much like a river might do when overcoming and rushing through a dam. The same article goes on to explain "Kohl was now the engineer of the Deutschland Express. He saw political unity within reach, and he was determined to grab it before the opportunity vanished" (Nelan, 1990, para. 25). The media's use of train imagery in the above article is important because it helps to illustrate how quickly Kohl was moving the joining of the two Germanys along. He really did seem to be the man in control of the German reunification and whether he would be successful, or face a train wreck was yet to be seen in the coverage I studied. Following the end of July, U.S. media coverage of political issues surrounding the new Germany slightly waned for a couple of months until the approaching year anniversary of the end of the Berlin barrier. A *Newsweek* article reflected on the major event, "It started with the breaching of the Berlin wall and escalated when the two Germany's merged their economies. Now comes Phase Two.

The new Germany must rebuild the ruined East, sorting out and realigning two profoundly different societies" (Meyer & Breslau, 1990, p. 45). Now that the initial steps to the path of reunification had taken place, the future process on the road to reunification would have to focus more on uniting the two different German mentalities. The new objective would need to be to reinforce the importance and contribution of the formerly East German citizens in order to help stabilize the discontent between the groups that had been economically and politically outcaste for so long.

In regards to this coverage theme, U.S. media first focused on the chaos that surrounded initial East German political reform. The articles centered on ideas of East Germany trying to stay politically independent and how their leader Krenz strictly opposed reunification. Coverage of this time also focused on fears of reunification from a European and Western standpoint as well. Again, the media use descriptive words to create an analogy between the chaos in East Germany and a natural force. There were examples used that evoked images of streams, and winds and great oceanic tides. This imagery is important because it influences the way that these events would be remembered by the readers of this media coverage. Political coverage of the U.S. media during these twelve months shows how pretty much everyone besides West Germany started off on the path to opposing reunification between the two Germanys. Over time however, the coverage changes and shows how East Germany, and the Soviet Union as well shifted gears and headed down the path to support of reunification in order to save East Germany from economic collapse. The third and missing link as to why this

happened can be seen through the economic coverage that the U.S. media focused on at the time.

Economic Coverage

The third major theme of U.S. media coverage dealt with the economic issues of East Germany during the year following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. As Figure 3 shows, coverage of economic issues remained somewhat steady the first three months following the dismantling of the Wall. However, coverage on this theme did not peak until June through July of 1990. This represented the months of economic reunification between the two Germanys.

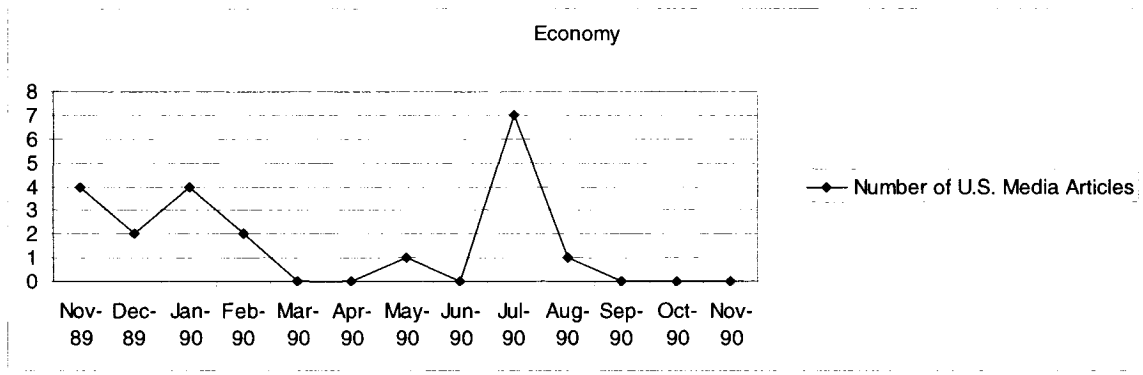

Figure 3. Economic Issues Coverage

The East German vehicle had been controlled by the Soviets and Communist leaders for over 40 years following the end of World War II. On November 9th, 1989, at the news of their travel options to leave East Germany, thousands of East Berliners fled to the West. A *New York Times* article describes how the West German government welcomed East Germans by giving them 100 marks to use in their country on their visiting the country:

> Once across, they did what their countrymen do: they went straight to a bank to pick up the 100 marks in "greeting money" given by the West German Government to East Germans arriving in the West for the first time. The money goes to every man, woman and child from the East, but only once a year and each identity document must be stamped. (Protzman, 1989, para. 8)

The media's description of the 100 marks as "greeting money" is interesting because it helps to shape the sense of the West welcoming the East that marked these first jovial days of physical reunification. It also helps to contextualize the fact that East German money was no good outside of East Germany. Thus even as travel restrictions were lifted, East Germans traveling to West Germany were dependent on this "greeting money" for any purchases they desired to make. This description also affects images of West Germany at the time, and shapes the image of this country as stable and wealthy as compared to its Eastern neighbor.

Within a week of eased travel restrictions however, it became clear that the large numbers of East Germans leaving any route they could posed a huge problem for the countrymen they were leaving behind, as *Newsweek* reports: "Even before the barriers came tumbling down, 225,000 East Germans had left their country for good so far this year. 'We figure there is a 500,000 ceiling,' says a Western diplomat in East Berlin. 'After that, this place will collapse'" (Watson et al., 1989, p. 31). *Newsweek* helps to contextualize this fact by preceding this quote with the statement that East Germany was in "a profound state of crisis" (Watson et al., 1989, p. 31). The country would never be able to recover if the mass exodus of its people did not stop. This was a major issue for the East German government, and for their new leader, President Egon Krenz. Part of the philosophy of letting East Germans travel freely was the hope that by giving them more

freedom, they may initially leave to experience other places, but return eventually to the country they had always known as home. As *Newsweek* coverage of the time portrays, there were definite benefits to the life of socialism in East Germany: "despite the problems, socialism has also brought many achievements to this country. We have social security, no unemployment, low inflation-this is the result of socialist development" (Watson et al., 1989, p. 31). *Time* reports that the influential social action group, New Forum helped to explain how this communist lifestyle affected East Germans:

> "The ideals of Socialism prevail here." Historical roots certainly and years of Communist rule have left a deep imprint. "A rhythm of life has developed," says Frank Schutze of the Postdam Institute for International Relations. "People have got used to a collective existence in which their lives and their jobs are protected by a safety net with a finer mesh than in the West. There is a certain pride in its Socialist ingredients." Education is free, as is health care. Job security is assured. (Berlin, 1989, para. 15).

These were some of the positive sides of the previous East German condition that the media helped to tease out of the current chaos. A later article by *The New York Times* covers this idea as well and shows how U.S. media conveyed that in some ways East Germans were almost hesitant to fully abandon communism: "For the East Germans, the elections also mark the end of a world that was both repressive and entirely secure,' and that, said Dr. Hans-Joachim Maaz, a psychotherapist in the nearby city of Halle, has spawned what he calls a 'fear of freedom'" (Schmemann, 1990, para. 18). Things were changing so rapidly that it was almost impossible to keep up with. U.S. media coverage shows that one thing was certain, for better or worse, political ties to the past were dissolving.

Once the borders were opened, it was obvious that the lifestyle of those in West Germany differed drastically from their communist neighbors. The West Germans were on the road to an economy that was thriving and this realization only peaked the exodus interest from East to West as *Newsweek* reports: "Doctors and nurses are leaving East Germany in especially large numbers because of their vastly better earning prospects in the West. East German doctors earn less than $1,000 a month, about the same as a bus driver, except that a bus driver gets an extra five days off" (Watson et al., 1989, p. 32). Media coverage helps to shape the disparity here by pointing out the major differences between East and West. The realization that East Germans could relocate in West Germany and make significantly more money became a huge problem for East German leadership. They knew that their economy was already weak, and could barely afford to lose the workers who had already fled. The economic complications of opening East German borders were further described by a November 27th, 1989 *Time* article:

> East Germany will also have to deal with the economic consequences of opening up its borders. As goods and labor begin to flow across the Wall, the difference between the strong West German mark and the virtually worthless East German mark will create a powerful black market...West Berlin's Economic Research Institute says it will cost $250 billion just to bring the country's hopelessly outmoded communications system up to Western standards. Upgrading roads and rails could cost as much or more. (Chua-Eoan, 1989, para. 17)

This excerpt shows the U.S. media's attitude regarding the current situation in East Germany. The fact was that East Germans were struggling already and there was a negative consequence to opening the border because their weak economic state allowed others to come in and take advantage of them. The media coverage describes East German currency as worthless, as compared to their description of West German

currency as strong. This comparison will be echoed again in later coverage regarding this economic crisis as well. At this point however, the coverage studied also uses words such as "hopeless" to describe East Germany. These are just a few of the initial economic roadblocks that East Germany faced in the weeks following their initial reform efforts. As weeks turned into months, East Germans were scrambling for the best solution to their growing crisis. Political options were still being debated and without a clear path to the road of recovery, citizens in East Germany continued to march and protest their deteriorating living conditions. Some of them just continued to give up and leave all together.

Still clinging to the hope that they could somehow pull out of their increasingly thick mess, some East Germans and their leaders forged on with the idea that reunification was still not in their best interest. A *Time* magazine article from late January of '90 describes how the writer visited East Berlin and spoke with some of its frustrated citizens. Bernstein describes how even in the face of national chaos, many still hoped to create some new form of "socialist democracy" that could save their country:

> The East Berlin I visited last month was a gray city whose citizens seemed to be reeling, exhausted, sad, confused, angry. Hopeful, yes, of rebuilding a noncommunist socialist democracy, separate from the West but in some way affiliated. Wary of capitalism and worried about any prospect suggesting reunification. (1990, para. 1)

This article uses negative descriptions regarding East Berliners perspective to help create a picture of what their frustrations were at the time. Their situation became so dire that East Germans turned to their former suppressor as means of monetary relief, the Berlin Wall. While the Wall had been dismantled in early November of the previous year, the

majority of it physically still stood in Berlin. *New York Times* coverage shows how East Berlin leaders began to tear down most of the Wall to not only relieve their people of the symbolic demon, but more importantly, to capitalize on the money they could get by selling the pieces to welcome buyers:

> At the headquarters of Limex in East Berlin, the East German construction export-import firm, the director, Helge Mobius, acknowledges that there is something of a moral problem here. But he says it has been resolved: profits will go to health services and toward financing restoration work on monuments such as the Brandenburg Gate. No section against which someone was shot will be sold, he added. (Schemann, 1990, para. 23)

The media's portrayal of this situation is important because it shows that East Germans were so desperate for economic aid that they were willing to make a moral compromise and profit from something they had hated and died trying to escape from for decades. East Berliners were also careful however, to preserve portions of the Wall that would be protected by the government to remind the people of the atrocity of their 28-year long division.

As described in the political section of my analysis, an important shift occurred in mid February of 1990 when the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev changed his mind and vocalized to the world that it was inevitable that the two Germanys would become reunited in all aspects. This was an important concession on the Soviet leader's part because it showed the world that indeed Soviet power and control was weakening, and it gave the go ahead to German leaders in the East to intensify their own consideration of reunification. This was a crucial step towards economic reunification to follow just a few short months after. In May '90, U.S. media coverage intensified around the treaty by the two Germanys to become economically united. In terms of saving the East Germans

from utter, extreme poverty, this was a historic event. The treaty confirmed that the two Germanys would merge economically and begin using the same currency in July. This would allow both sides to experience some type of ease on their ever growing tense situation. *Newsweek* shows that the economic crisis in East Germany had in fact caused West Germans stress as well:

> Germans know that the root cause of the latest problems--the widening economic rift between them and their neighbors--runs deep. Some fear pressure to erect legal, if not physical, barriers to the East, in effect moving the Berlin wall to the Polish border. Already some West Berliners have torched cars with East-bloc license plates. I WANT MY WALL BACK, demands a new T shirt. (Breslau, 1990, p. 33)

With the opening of their borders, East Germans had created a situation where outsiders could come and consume their goods for a mere fraction of what it would have cost in their own country. Another important complication was that as East Germans fled to the West; West Germans were experiencing an increase in job competition, a shortage on housing and an increase in city congestion. Through media coverage of this time, it seemed like many people were taking advantage of the economic turmoil in East Germany, but still East Germans themselves were left hopeless.

Approximately six weeks later, economic reunification occurred and this sparked a dramatic increase in U.S. media coverage of the East German situation. *Newsweek* even compared the situation to a fairytale describing: "Once upon a time, a rich kingdom took over a poor one. The money in the 15 million bank accounts of the poor kingdom was no good, so--poof!--the rich kingdom exchanged it for the Deutsche mark, a currency better than gold" (Thomas, 1990, p. 31). The media's choice of imagery here is important because it helps to relay the major differences between East and West

Germany at the time. West Germany had become so westernized that being compared to a rich kingdom is an appropriate analogy as compared to East Germany. There is also a sense of sarcasm here that is important to consider because the article is choosing to relay an oversimplified version of the struggles faced by reunifying the two Germanys. The same article by *Newsweek* goes on to explain some of the possible downsides to the economic reunification that could occur: "There will be a couple of years of enormous turmoil--unemployment, bankruptcies, perhaps even political unrest. Many East Germans will still go west to find work and West Germans east to get rich. There will likely be a burst of inflation and higher taxes, too. Every fairy tale has its villains" (Thomas, 1990, p. 31). This use of fairytale imagery echoes a similar piece from *Time* just weeks following the fall of the Wall. Once East Germans were able to freely travel to the West again, they were shocked by the economic and cultural differences between the two Germanys and an article in *Time* shows how the fairytale analogy had been previously made as well by actual East German citizens:

> "We look at the West, and it's a fairyland," says an East Berlin housewife. "Our attitudes are different. We grew up modest. We missed out on a lot, but we make do. Over there it's all money, money, money. We don't have it." There is the touch of an inferiority complex as well, and given widespread West German complaints about new burdens, it is perhaps justified. (Berlin, 1989, para. 18)

The media's focus on the occupation of the speaker of this quote is important because it creates an image of a link between being a housewife in East Germany and being poor and having insecurities when it comes to the success of West Germany. This is an important example by U.S. media coverage of the divisions that had existed between the two Germanys due to leadership influenced by separate world powers. West Germany

had been aided by the U.S. and other Western thinking allies. Thus, their culture was influenced by U.S. capitalistic ideals and this became even more obvious when the Wall came down.

An article published from *Time* magazine describes another aspect of the economic reunification that was not fairly addressed by either governments, and this was the fact that citizens in West Germany were still making twice as much as their East German counterparts. Even with the money conversion underway, the two sides would still not be equally balanced as far as job pay was concerned, a fact that would still leave East Germans feeling like second-class citizens. Another article conveyed a positive perspective when it came to the economic uniting of the two Germanys:

> German reunification occurred, in all but name, at midnight on Sunday morning. That was the start of Tag X the "X-Day" on which East and West Germany merged their economies, exchanging the tattered currency of the East for the robust Deutsche marks of the West. In the political equivalent of a friendly buyout, East Germany plunged into the chilly but invigorating waters of capitalism. Economic integration is the point at which Germans begin to think and act as one nation. (Watson & Meyer, 1990, p. 31)

There are numerous important word choices that the media uses to describe this economic reunification in this quote. First is the comparison between the current East and West German currencies. East represents poverty; their currency is "tattered." West represents success and stability, their currency is "robust." This description echoes the word choice in the November 27th *Time* article referenced earlier in my analysis. Again we see the comparison of strong West Germany to the fragile and hopeless East. This description also connects to previous fairytale imagery by building a Cinderella-esque analogy where the world of the poor suddenly transforms into a dream reality of wealth.

Another important symbolic use is comparing capitalism to chilly but invigorating water. This creates a sense of something slightly uncomfortable at first, but somehow completely enticing at the same time. This shows the bias for capitalism from the eyes of U.S. media. While the East had effectively begun its integration back into the West, it had happened as a necessity. East Germans just couldn't reform their country quick enough to save it from turmoil. The reunification process therefore became rushed for multiple reasons, and one could even argue based on the U.S. media coverage of these pivotal months, that East Germans had no other option but to reunite, and West German leadership seized and drove that reality home.

The big picture in this last theme of coverage in U.S. media during my specified timeframe focuses on the major economic differences between East and West Germany. The media consistently uses imagery to create a sense of the tremendous imbalance economically between the two. East Germany equaled economic hardship. Their currency was virtually worthless, and was described by the media as tattered and weak. West Germany was the stronger, successful, savior that came and saved East Germany. This leads to the analogy of the two Germanys to a fairytale where the rich and powerful kingdom saves the poor little helpless one. There is an obvious use of sarcasm used in these media descriptions but their point remains, East Germany was in trouble and through reunification with West Germany they had at least some chance to eventually recover.

My analysis began with two research questions: How did the U.S. media depict the initial dismantling of the Wall and how did that depiction change over the following

year? My study of the twelve months of initial U.S. media coverage following the end of the Berlin Wall showed that there were three clear trends, social protest, political, and economic issues. The answer to my first research question then, is that initially the U.S. media portrayed the relief that social protest was able to bring to the repressed people of East Berlin, and East Germany in general. It is clear, through the U.S. media coverage I studied, that the initial breach of the Berlin Wall, and the massive reform efforts that followed in the days after, were sparked by the social action and demonstrations that the East Germans staged. At the same time, initial U.S. media coverage also shows the immediate chaos that unfolded as the road to political freedom seemed inundated with possible shortcuts and escape routes. The coverage shows however that there became a clear shift as economic issues became more of a concern, thus warranting additional attention through media coverage. The end result was that the articles portrayed how the East German political leaders found themselves eventually cornered. They weren't aware of the approaching end to their political life, but as the economic crisis grew out of control, and the people's social demonstrations were left unanswered by their leaders, the East German government had no choice but to back track past their dreams of staying an independent nation, ending up instead back on the road to the promises of democracy and economic aid from West Germany.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

I began this research inquiry based on a personal experience that had moved me to think frequently of Berlin and desire to learn more about its recent history. My trip to the city in early 2004 changed my life because there was something about the Wall (what was left of it) that urged me to learn more about its story and what it meant to the people it separated for nearly three decades. Those thoughts and images stayed with me as I continued my educational goals. And when it came time to decide on a thesis subject, the Berlin Wall jumped out from my subconscious and that desire to learn more turned into an actual research quest. Early in the development thought process, I knew that I wanted to learn more about the situation in Berlin as the Wall was destroyed and East and West Germans first had the opportunity to reunite. I wanted to learn more about what that process was, and how their situation was relayed to the rest of the world. Every major country had at least some type of political interest in the situation in Berlin. I knew that the Wall was breached because of social unrest that resulted in tremendous demonstrations and protests. Leaders in East Germany knew that their reign as Communists was finally coming to a close and they had to face the crowds of citizens demanding change. This knowledge was the extent to my understanding of what happened in 1989 in Berlin before I began this study.

Researchers in our field had previously studied other situations of social protest and the power of people to influence major political change. Previous work had also focused on how the media choose what they cover based on their own motivations and that media coverage can be used to either increase positive awareness of social action, or

to shut out the potential for such action to ignite by refusing to cover the events. Relatively new to the communication field, current research has also focused on topics of public memory and how this can be affected and created through memorial sites and museums for example. As aforementioned, however, all three of these subjects had yet to converge on the subject of Berlin towards the end of 1989. I saw the gap in these three areas as an opportunity to take a deeper look at a city that had already intrigued me. To make the most of my research endeavor, I knew I had to narrow my focus regarding the fall of the Berlin Wall and the next phase of my initial inquiry helped me to hone in on the incremental steps that this research has sought to contribute to existing work. To take a closer look at media coverage I chose to study three leading U.S. print media sources as they represented some of the top news sources during the timeframe under study. This choice also lent itself more readily to a method of textual analysis, which allowed me to take a deeper look at the media coverage as it was published. I was able to devise the two research questions: (1) How did the U.S. print media depict the initial dismantling of the Wall and its after-effects, and (2) how did that depiction change over the following year.

I wondered how this time was described to other Americans and people all around the world, and I wanted to understand more about patterns in media coverage, and look for themes in the news pieces printed in regards to Berlin and the Germanys at the time. To frame my research, I studied previous work that had used a textual analysis approach. I found that there were two major routes to this type of methodology and these were the quantitative and qualitative approaches. I decided to follow a more qualitative approach through interpretive textual analysis so that I could analyze the media coverage for larger

themes and deeper transitions. I also wanted to analyze how these themes emerged and changed over time.

Implications

In terms of implications, my analysis supports previous work that dealt with issues of media coverage, social protest and public memory and takes the next step by providing a clear example of how all three can be interrelated. My study of U.S. media coverage in regards to the year following the initial dismantling of the Berlin Wall helped to illuminate the relationship between media coverage and social protest and how these help create meaning and public memory. The fact that such a connection was lacking in current research within the communication field provided the warrant for my study and my analysis provides a significant contribution by helping to fill this gap, especially as it pertains to such an important time in world history. In the case of my research, it becomes clear that social action led to media coverage of the situation in Berlin from November 1989 through November 1990. This U.S. news coverage helped to shape opinions not only of Americans, but for readers all around the world when it came to the situation in Berlin and the two Germanys during this time. Another important implication was the discovery of the tendency for the media to focus on U.S. values and perspectives in regards to situations happening in other countries as well. It is important to reiterate that the major themes that emerged in the U.S. coverage that I studied were issues that were aligned with a U.S. perspective. Political and economic issues are subjects of intense coverage in our own country and the U.S. media helped to create

meaning surrounding these issues in West and East Germany as well by focusing so frequently on these subjects over possible others.

My research also provides evidence to support the importance of the relationship between media coverage and social protest in terms of giving voice to situations of social unrest, and how the coverage itself can help to shape public memory of the situation for decades to follow. The media coverage that I focused on in regards to the year following the dismantling of the Wall is important because this coverage laid the groundwork for the public memory of the event that would follow. The media have a powerful role when it comes to their influence over what meaning is created through their coverage. In this way, media plant the images and meaning that later seed into what public memory will be. In regards to my study, U.S. media focused mostly on the political and economic issues during this time, along with the social turmoil that arose. By focusing on these three subjects, U.S. media framed how this situation would be later remembered by their readers, and this was done in a way that would reinforce American values such as democracy and capitalism.

In terms of the actual articles, it is interesting to note that there were different patterns in coverage from the three sources. *The New York Times* started off with the most amount of coverage, while *Time* and *Newsweek* had more consistent coverage throughout the entire year. One explanation of this is the fact that *The New York Times* is printed daily and this type of media is more focused on immediate, dramatic events. When the Wall fell, there was an intense amount of coverage in the days and week following. However, once the initial drama had worn off, *The New York Times*

eventually moved to cover other events happening through out the world. They did however maintain occasional coverage throughout the remainder of the year. *Time* and *Newsweek* on the other hand were more consistent in their coverage and this can help be explained by the fact that these are weekly publications that tend to focus on deeper conflict, and are better positioned to cover events from a more long term perspective.

Many things about the situation in Berlin are unfortunately not exclusive to that place and time. Since 1989 the world has continued to see situations of cultures and societies being pulled apart for political purposes. One example would be North and South Korea and their ongoing turmoil, including the DMZ wall that separates them. This is another case of deep political differences dividing a culture as well over time.

There are other scenarios where even after the form of repression is removed, the divide between the people remains so strong that reunification seems unlikely. Through the eyes of the media we see the current struggle in Iraq where the country is in political and social unrest after the removal of Saddam Hussein. Even as different countries have become involved the situation at the citizen level has only gotten worse as deep cultural and religious rifts are pulling the people further apart and threatening civil war.

My research contributes to our field by laying another step in the foundation to understanding more about current situations that parallel that of Berlin and the two reunifying Germanys. As previously mentioned, even the current civil violence in Iraq between different cultural groups can be compared on many levels to that faced by Berliners, as analyzed through my study of U.S. media coverage. Another example that could be further illuminated by my work on the situation in Berlin and the two reuniting

Germanys would be the situation in Israel where the Israeli West Bank barrier separating Palestinians is growing and becoming more of a threat everyday. These are just a few of the important contributions that my research has to offer our field and future work as well. It's important to remember however that my study is just one small step towards a mountain of future work to come. By limiting my focus to such a narrow timeframe and source of media coverage, I was able to provide several specific examples of patterns and themes in coverage. In this type of approach however, there are many limitations.

Limitations

There were numerous limitations that affected my research. In regards to my analysis, one of the major limitations was my choice to focus only on print media coverage as opposed to TV media coverage, or radio coverage, or some combination of various types of media outlets. I chose however to focus on print media, and in doing so I specifically focused on the coverage of three major print news sources, *The New York Times, Time* magazine, and *Newsweek* magazine. The sources I chose are another limitation to my study because they represent three of the most mainstream print news sources not only in the U.S., but also around the world. Their reputation for being so widely read contributes multiple limitations to my study; it presents the reality that they have a large audience that could be persuaded by what they choose to cover, and also that their writing is more likely to be designed in a way that will appeal to their large reader base. Being three of the top print news sources in the U.S. means that these media outlets have a lot of power over what Americans are exposed to and how they form opinions over the news they are presented with. This represents a limitation because it suggests

that the coverage I chose to study was written with bias, as most forms of media coverage are. Because these three sources are so widely read and accepted all across the world, it means that their writing style, and what they choose to cover editorially, is most likely based on appealing to the masses as well. This represents a limitation because it presents the likelihood that there were stories not covered by any of these three sources that could have lent further insight on the situation in Berlin after the initial dismantling of the Wall. It also means that the stories they did cover were most likely written to appeal to the most mainstream bias of their reader base, therefore, perpetuating the most popular opinions on world news situations such as Berlin and the Germanys were at the time. This creates a limitation of my study, also tied to the media coverage I chose to analyze.

The major themes that I found in the media coverage I analyzed were directly tied to the sources I chose to read. Overall they focused on the shift from opposition to reunification of the two Germanys, to the eventual reality that the only way to save East Germany was to pull it back into political and economic ties to the West. The other three themes that emerged focused on coverage of social protest and action, political issues and attitudes surrounding the two Germanys, and economic issues and implications of East Germany, which began with the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. The U.S. has a tendency to be drawn in by these three themes, social protest, political and economic issues. In our own country, political and economic issues are widely discussed and covered daily on all forms of media. We've also seen coverage of society's way of trying to influence and create change as well, and this includes social demonstrations, marches, and other forms of social action and protest. Keeping in mind that these three themes are ones that have

inundated coverage of news within our own country, it's important to recognize this major potential limitation on U.S. media coverage of other world news as well. The U.S. media provides plenty of evidence throughout the year of coverage I studied to support these three major themes. However, there is the risk that there was other equally or more important themes that could have emerged in other media coverage. Perhaps social protest, political and economic issues were not the major themes as presented from the German, or European media source perspective. Another major limitation of my study surrounds the amount of coverage that I studied, and the timeframe on which I narrowed my focus. By only focusing on the year's worth of coverage following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, I narrowed my analysis scope.

Future Recommendations

Future research could add to my research quest by expanding to look at other forms of media coverage of the situation in Berlin and the two Germanys following the fall of the Wall. For example, it would be interesting to do a comparison between different forms of U.S. coverage, such as TV news, radio, and print sources. Following the same research questions as I posed, it would be interesting to see how other forms of media initially covered the dismantling of the Wall, and how that coverage changed from their perspective over the following year. Perhaps similar themes would emerge, but perhaps other U.S. media sources would also reveal equally compelling themes that did not present themselves in the print coverage I studied. Expanding on the idea of other types of coverage, it would be important to consider this research question outside the scope of U.S. media. Future work could begin by analyzing International news sources

such as the *International Herald Tribune*, or a combination of European sources. Another suggestion for an interesting inquiry could look at media coverage of the situation through the eyes of Germans themselves by compare/contrasting West and East German media coverage of their situation.

In regards to time, another important recommendation would be to choose another time frame of media coverage to study. While I focused on the year following the dismantling of the Wall, perhaps a more longitudinal study could reveal deeper patterns by looking at five years of coverage, or ten years following the first steps to reunification. Or even more interesting might be to look at coverage for the year preceding the fall of the Wall to get a better sense of the growing unrest in this part of Europe and how that was portrayed through the media.

Future work could also look at the German situation at this historical time through the lens of art. For example, it would be interesting to study films or songs and other forms of art that were influenced by the Berlin Wall and how the Wall's dismantling intensified the reunification process for Germans. Other work could also choose to focus on how the situation in Germany affected neighboring countries, and the process that other Eastern Bloc countries went through in their quest to become reunited with the European Community it had been severed from under Soviet rule. Another suggestion for future research would be to take an in-depth look at the parallels between the Berlin Wall, and other situations where societies have been split by a physical barrier for political purpose. For example, future research could look at the parallels between the situation in Berlin, and the wall being built to separate Palestine from Israel. Another

example could consider the DMZ wall separating South from North Korea. Yet another example would be to compare/contrast the situation in Berlin to the border wall made to separate the U.S. from Mexico. All of these options present the opportunity for future work to expand on what I have done in this incremental step towards understanding the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and its after effects. It is my belief that further examination of the Berlin Wall and the reunification process between the two Germanys is warranted from the communication perspective and I hope that in some way the research I have done here will only help to expand interest on this time and ways that future work can shed further light on the inquiry I started.

This research quest has helped me to understand more about Berlin and the reuniting Germanys on a personal level as well. Part of me will always be touched by the experience I had meeting those young Berliners on the train from Amsterdam. Their reactions to me being American, and their personal stories of how they were affected by the Berlin Wall, are something I could never forget. The suffering they went through stayed with me, haunting me in a way, urging me to learn more about their situation and how it was ultimately resolved, and also how that story was relayed to the rest of the world. After all I have learned about the struggles that East Berliners and East Germans in general had to endure, I feel a sense of dismay as I reflect on the condition this part of the country was still in even just a few short years ago. It was 2004 when I traveled to Berlin, a full 15 years after the Wall came down. Still, East Berlin is gray and broken and rundown as compared to the Western part of the city. All of the Western glitz and glamour has yet to fully engulf East Berlin. On some level that may not be such a bad

thing. One thing is clear: there is at least physical evidence that the reunification process between the two sides is still underway. Perhaps it will take several generations of new Germans to heal the deep and divisive wounds left by the Berlin Wall. Considering this, it seems even more appropriate that part of the Berlin Wall has been left to stand as a memorial and a reminder to the extent that some leaders will go to control and dominate their citizens. That one-word, spray painted description sticks with me, "madness." While my research can't solve the madness Berliners were subjected to for so long, I hope that at least it will help to create more awareness of this time and what these people went through. I know that on a personal level my interest in Berlin will continue. I intend to visit the city again in the near future, to go back to the place that bewildered and inspired me in so many ways. I think it is important to keep revisiting these sites of tremendous social turmoil and change. In this way, we create our own public memory, by helping to remember and keep those stories alive.

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